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SPEECH

OF

ROBERT WICKLIFFE

IN THE SENATE OF KENTUCKY,

UPON THE PREAMBLE AND RESOLUTIONS IN RELATION
TO THE TARIFF AND INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS; AND
IN RESPONSE TO CERTAIN RESOLUTIONS FROM SOUTH
CAROLINA.

FRANKFORT, Ky.

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SPEECH, &c.

MR. WICKLIFFE said that he had designed not to be in his seat that day, and but for a recent occurrence should be with his family and perhaps not have again taken his seat during the session—that he had from the first determined, if possible, not to be provoked into the discussion of the subject presented by both the resolutions and the amendment; that he had kept his seat during two days, listening to the most unbridled abuse of a constituent and a friend; but the able and appropriate manner in which these unjust and he might say unfeeling attacks had been repelled by his friend from Nelson, Mr. Hardin, rendered (until that moment) any further notice of the ungenerous course of gentlemen useless. However the remarks of the gentleman, Mr. Campbell, who had just taken his seat, rendered silence on his part, no longer a virtue; and he should consider that he was faithless to his constituents and his country, as well as a traitor to his own feelings, if he did not now claim the attention of the Senate. He knew that his remarks must be desultory, for neither his health nor time had permitted preparation; but his friends must pardon him; they could not lament more than he did, the consumption of their valuable time, and the friends of the gentlemen who have distinguished themselves in recriminations, he hoped, would, before they passed judgment, hear the defence of the accused; and he must now be excused if he carried the war into the enemies country before he resumed his seat. Although, said Mr. Wickliffe, a personal friend and a constituent has been the unceasing theme of abuse and crimination, although he has been denounced as the modern Pericles, of towering, restless and mad ambition, that scatters dissensions and heart-burnings over an otherwise happy land, and although my friends here and in the other house have come in for their full share of dark insinuations, that we intend to build up the broken fortunes of a fallen and convicted political felon, I have not been more entertained with the sarcastic and amusing repartees of the gentleman from Nelson during the debate, than I have been with the sanctimonious countenances with which these gentlemen tender us their condolence for our fallen condition, and their cautionary harrangues to us against our showing any symptoms of discontent. Yes, sir, in sober sadness, you tell us that we know this world was made for *Jackson*, and that we are but hewers of wood and drawers of water, and how highly favoured we are that he permits us to live at all in this world.

of his: that these favours may be denied us if we but open our mouths to complain; If we do not strictly guard Mr. Clay, and see that he does, under no pretence whatever, leave Ashland; that he eats no more dinners, and makes no more dinner speeches against the peace of General Jackson, and to the great annoyance of his loyal subjects of this *his dominion*. We came here, say the gentlemen, expecting that Mr. Clay was our state prisoner, confined close and safe, and that you, his friends, were so prostrate and fallen that we should never be troubled with you again. In this situation we were ready to offer you our hands, and to say to you that our chief only requires that you perform your daily tasks under us your taskmasters; but, as we have said before, we repeat to you again, if you but let a murmur escape you, we will shorten your bread, *double* your tasks and like Israel of old, you shall make brick without straw; and yet these words of condolence and caution, instead of having the desired effect, have stiffened your necks until you have impudently forced upon us this most detested preamble and these resolutions, in which you dare to associate the name of H. Clay with that of Washington; worse still, to express your unshaken confidence in his patriotism and unbending integrity.

One gentleman was particularly happy (as he no doubt thought) in a vein of mock pity and sarcastic taunting of Mr. Clay and his friends. This gentleman, (Mr. Allen,) in the hackneyed way, when a deep cut is intended, begins with telling us how much he pities Mr. Clay—that he views him as a fallen prostrate man, that he once, to be sure, admired that gentleman, but that he now views him as fallen never to rise again; that it is useless for him and his friends to disturb public opinion; that he had better be at home cutting down his corn stocks, than trapesing up and down the country, making dinner speeches, disturbing the public repose; that Mr. Clay has been tried and condemned, and that it is vain for him to think of appealing from his sentence of condemnation; that the people have heard too much of bargain, intrigue and sale, to ever be reconciled to Mr. Clay; that he should like to know how Mr. Clay ever expects to satisfy the people how he and Mr. Adams became such *mighty friends*, after being sworn enemies. For his part he was taught by Mr. Clay to dispise Mr. Adams; and all of a sudden, to be sure, Mr. Clay and Mr. Adams embrace; Mr. Clay makes Mr. Adams President, and Mr. Adams makes Mr. Clay his Secretary, and the veil is removed; the mystery explained.

A few words to all this before I pass to the gentleman from Livingston and to Mr. Speaker. Now sir, I deny that Mr. Clay ever taught the gentleman to dispise Mr. Adams, if ever he taught him anything. Pray, I would ask the gentleman, when and how came Mr. Clay his school master. He is greatly Mr. Clay's superior in age if nothing else, and I never heard before of his having any particular intimacy with or liking for that gentleman. On this point the

gentleman attempted some thing like an explanation. It was some pieces that were published in the Argus, and perhaps in a paper in the State of Ohio, charging Mr. Adams with attempting to barter away the navigation of the Mississippi, for the privilege of drying fish and other privileges within the British possessions in North America, that he learnt his political A B C in, and how to dispise Mr. Adams. I know sir, that the Jackson version of this fabrication, has ascribed them to Mr. Clay; but the gentleman ought not so soon to have forgotten, that Amos Kendall, and not Mr. Clay, schooled him into these revolting feelings against Mr. Adams. Has the gentleman's memory failed him, that when he called the said Amos, as a witness for him before the Senate in 1827, to prove this bargain and intrigue story; that that individual swore that he himself started the story of Mr. Adams' hostility to the west, without seeing or consulting Mr. Clay; that on Mr. Clay's seeing his paper containing the charges against Mr. Adams, Mr. Clay told him that he had misrepresented Mr. Adams; but that Mr. Adams wrote a pamphlet justifying his course at Ghent, and that he, Kendall, wrote a review of Mr. Adams' pamphlet; that the scurrilous pieces published in Cincinnati against Mr. Adams, were also written by himself; and has he forgotten that that wretch, though he evidently endeavored to inculcate Mr. Clay, when questioned, could not, or did not swear that Mr. Clay ever saw, either his review or his scurrilous Ohio production, until they went to press; such is my recollection of what Kendall swore, and I believe that of all who now hear me; and none has a better right to recollect, than the worthy gentleman from Green, himself. Kendall, I admit, is no authority against any man, or for any man, but himself and the gentleman from Green who introduced him; and if he is to be believed when sworn, even for this limited purpose, he has been the school master, and not Mr. Clay, of the gentleman. He has taught him his A B C in dispising Mr. Adams. Mr. Clay has denied his personal and political hostility to Mr. Adams; he has challenged those who allege his malevolence towards Mr. Adams, to produce one single act or word to justify the charge. It may be true that Mr. Adams, when the creature Kendall attacked him, supposed he had been excited by his rival candidate; indeed, from the tone of his defence, it is obvious that such was his then impressions. But Clay observed a dignified course; he would not volunteer a denial, but leave the matter where it was, and no doubt Adams has long since felt that he did Clay injustice in supposing him capable of using such an instrument as Kendall, to disseminate falsehood and slander against him in the west.

Having, I trust, satisfied the gentleman that Amos Kendall, and not Mr. Clay, has been the school master that taught him to dispise Mr. Adams, I will now thank the gentleman to tell me what he means by saying that Mr. Clay has been tried and condemned, and that

he ought to be satisfied with his sentence of condemnation, for his bargain and sale to Mr. Adams. (Here Mr. Allen denied that he had charged Mr. Clay with a bargain and sale to Mr. Adams.) Very well, says Mr. Wickliffe, I do not pretend to give the exact words of the gentleman. I think, though, I had not lost sight of the substance of what the gentleman said. What does the gentleman mean by the trial and condemnation of Mr. Clay? of what has he been guilty? Aye, here is the rub with the Senator. And now let me again refresh that gentleman's recollection. He now has not used the exact words bargain and sale; but did any Senator misunderstand the gentleman? How was it in 1827? Did not that gentleman introduce a resolution calling for persons and papers, not only to saddle intrigue, corruption, bargain and sale on Mr. Clay, but upon eight of our members of Congress also? And did not this Senate grant him process, and did not he and his party send for persons and papers? Yes sir, and this Senate was detained here nearly one half of its whole session, hearing evidence from that gentleman and the witnesses which he introduced, for the purpose of sustaining his charge of bargain and sale; and did not his school-master, Amos, swear by the hour for him? And what was the result after the patience of the Senate and treasury of the State had been exhausted for the gentleman and his witness, Amos Kendall? Why the Senate voted the charge false and malicious. With the journals containing this vote of the Senate, pronounced on the *exparte* evidence produced by the gentleman, (for the friends of Mr. Clay disdained to offer exculpatory evidence,) it is a little extraordinary that the gentleman has spoken of the trial and condemnation of Mr. Clay. Mr. Clay has been put upon his trial no where but in this Senate; and submitting to the old Gothic rule of an *exparte* trial, and on the witnesses of the accuser *only*, he has been acquitted by this Senate; and worse, too, for his accuser, the charge was decided to be false and malicious. But a word or two upon the subject that so much disturbs the Senator from Livingston, and seemed to haunt the imagination of Mr. Speaker also; that is, Mr. Clay's eating and drinking with his friends, and above all, making dinner speeches. In this way, say the gentlemen, he scatters dissension over the land and interrupts the general quiet that would otherwise prevail. Ah! Gentlemen, is it true that the calm of despotism is thus shaken? What! but for Mr. Clay, the fetters forged and forging would be peaceably worn by the people? Patriot would fall after patriot, and sacrifice succeed sacrifice, to build up and consolidate the frightful powers assumed at Washington, and the people would be as silent as sheep amidst the slaughter of the devouring wolf? Is this what you mean? Is this what you fear? If Mr. Clay make statements not true, they will recoil. If it is true that President Jackson is not treating all those opposed to him, as sanguinary tyrants always, when victorious, treat the conquered; then Mr. Clay

and Mr. Clay's friends do him injustice. But let facts decide. What has stamped William the Conqueror, and Cæsar, tyrants, as well as all other conquerors who have acted on the same principle, so much as that they considered the property of the people they subdued, spoil for their followers and retainers? William conquered the public offices, the soil and its owners, and he divided them among his retainers and followers. Jackson has not yet conquered our soil; no, not yet! but in his victory, which he has achieved, he has conquered the offices of the nation; and like a tyrant, true to his soldiery that achieved the victory for him, he has ousted those in office and distributed their offices among his political bullies. But more of this hereafter. I would now ask gentlemen, who is Mr. Clay, that he should be denied the common privileges of a freeman, to eat and drink with his friends, and what is his offence that has thus disprivileged him? Sir, when I look back upon the history of this gentleman's life, I admit that I see much in it to rejoice at and to lament for my country. At an early period of childhood he lost his father, and struggling with many difficulties incident to a state of orphanage, he cast his lot in Kentucky. I well remember him, when a young member of the bar from Virginia, seeking a home in our State. He came here a stranger and without other means than nature and his own exertions afforded, to recommend him, or to assure him a livelihood. His talents, however, soon unfolding themselves, made him, amidst heavy competition, the favorite as well as the pride of his profession. By a zealous attention to business he overcame the dangers of poverty that too frequently overwhelm young candidates for business. In a few years the youthful Clay could successfully measure strength at the bar with the 'Hughes', the Browns and Allens of the State. His eloquence was admired by all and his urbane manners made him the delight of all. These, to Mr. Clay, were days of ease and comparative splendor; from being poor, he became opulent; from being a young stranger, his fame was mature and dear to the State. It is not my intention to be minute with regard to Mr. Clay's early history; suffice it for me to declare, that when I speak from a personal knowledge of all the then eminent men of the State, that none had the same prospects for wealth in the profession in Kentucky, that he had. It was about this period that Mr. Clay was, without his knowledge, and when from home, run as a candidate for the Legislature. He was elected, and in obedience to the principle which has governed his public conduct, through life, laid down his duty to his family to discharge it to his country. It was then that he distinguished himself first as a statesman in resisting the unconstitutional efforts that were made to repeal the charter of the Insurance office. He was elected again to the Legislature without opposition, and at the commencement of the next session, a vacancy happened in the Senate of the United States, by the resignation of

General Adair, of but one year. Mr. Clay was elected to fill that vacancy. He entered the Senate of course, both a stranger to that body and young, but his talents were instantly employed in the service of this State and the west. Kentucky, Tennessee and Ohio had been theretofore deprived of the benefit of the circuit courts of the United States. It was reserved for the youthful Senator to put forth the fair claims of the west and to carry through Congress, in triumph, a bill extending the circuit system to those States. He did more, sir, not as our present Senators have done, in repudiating the nomination of one of Kentucky's favorite sons and most eminent jurist from the Supreme Court, (Mr. Crittenden;) he caused the appointment of the additional judge to fall upon a distinguished citizen of his own State. It was at this session, I believe, that the first bill was ever engrossed, providing for the opening of the Cumberland Road.

The people of Kentucky had theretofore been ably represented in the Senate, but they lost in the death of that truly great man and valued citizen, John Breckenridge, much of their weight in Congress. It was desired by all, that his place should be supplied by eminent abilities, in one of the branches of the National Legislature. For this purpose all eyes were turned to Mr. Clay. Yes, Mr. Speaker, there are those, living as well as dead, whose minds were held in suspense as to their advice to Mr. Clay; who saw that his interest and that of his young, growing and helpless family, and those of his country, were at issue—that his country required his time and talents, and that his family required them likewise; and well I know, that the situation of his family often pressed on him, when he hesitated between the calls of his friends and country, and the duties of domestic life—His friends and country, however, prevailed; and Mr. Clay, for that country, turned his back upon wealth and independence. It is, now Sir, more than twenty years, since that individual laid down the most profitable practice any lawyer ever had in the west, to spend the prime of his life, and to give his talents to his country. In such a case, Mr. Speaker, is there not something like an implied understanding between the servant and the master, that he, the servant, is not to be deserted in his old age, when he has worn out his constitution for his country? Republics have been reproached with this deadly ingratitude, by the advocates of Monarchy. The monarchists upbraided us with the ingratitude of ancient Greece and Rome, to their faithful sons, when our fathers decided on a republican government, in preference to that of a monarchy; they told us, that, as in Greece and Rome and Carthage, our Aristideses, our Hanibals, and our Scipios would, in old age, be abandoned or placed under ostracism; or die like Socrates, for daring to be pure amidst corruption: while the demagogues and public plunderers would seize the highest offices and enjoy them—they told us, that they (the demagogues)

had been the curse and ruin of every republic. Yet our fathers hoped, and we will hope a better result, from our own government. But, Mr. Speaker, what can we hope for, if we lay ourselves liable to the same charge of ingratitude that Greece and Rome did, to public benefactors, and award, as they did, to demagogues and public plunderers, all the honors and offices of the republic? what can we hope but to fall as they did; to fall, like Lucifer, never to rise again? If we expect men to turn their backs on their families and fortunes for their country, we must consider our public men, public property; their reputation a part of that of the state—instead of rising upon them, like the fabled monster that destroyed its own progeny. What is it that forms the character of a state, but her distinguished *men*? And, Sir, if you expect your public servants to be faithful, you must not be treacherous to them. Why has it happened, that Virginia has, heretofore, ruled the national councils; that she has literally dictated to the nation as well as furnished four out of five presidents? Because she was faithful to her favorite sons. Her policy has heretofore been, never to destroy the affection of the child, through the ingratitude of the mother; not to disparage, not to obscure the talents she possessed; but to adhere to her sons, in good and evil report; and although in some periods of her history, some one or more of her distinguished men have seemed, for a while, to be neglected, yet she always recurred to them in time, and raised them into notice. Would to God, I could say thus much for Kentucky. She, Sir, I admit, seems to forget the salutary lessons of history, and the examples of her mother, Virginia. But I will yet hope, that when Kentucky speaks, she will not prove herself ungrateful; and that she will speak into nothingness, the ephemeral demagogues that are now fattening on the public treasury. No, Mr. Speaker, I can never admit that my country will be, can be ungrateful. It is only necessary for the highminded Kentuckians to be called to act, understandingly, to destroy all your hopes of the destruction of Mr. Clay, founded, as such hopes are, on the ingratitude of republics.

When I digressed, I left Mr. Clay resolved to enter into the service of his country; and it was known to all that the people were willing, and that his friends offered him his choice, of either a seat in the Senate, or that of the House of Representatives. Mr. Clay chose the latter: and, in making that selection, he, in a letter addressed to the voters of the district, declared that he did so, from the consideration, that he thought that his responsibility would be greatest in that branch, and that he could there be most useful to his country. This declaration was, no doubt, sincere; as he then had no opposition, and never had but one, and that but a feeble one, during his service in congress. Mr. Clays election was every where hailed with joy. The nation was in great difficulty, and never stood more in need of talents and integrity than at that period. On his reach-

ing Congress, he was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives, although he had never theretofore been a member of that body—over which he presided with unrivalled ability, until he resigned the station to discharge a more responsible and delicate trust; that of negotiating a peace with one of the most powerful nations on earth. During a period of war Mr. Clay presided as speaker. Did any man possess more of the national confidence, than he did? Was he not always among the foremost to vindicate the rights of his country? Did Kentucky ever occupy a higher stand in the estimation of United America? Her representative, ardent, bold and patriotic was considered as her true representative. There was no man who visited at the seat of government—who visited a sister State, that did not feel the benefits of Clay's fame and talents. All the fair claims of Kentucky and her citizens, were duly appreciated. At Washington, the poorest citizen felt as if he had a pledge in the strength of his representative, that his just claims on his government would be recognized. How many are there of our gallant sons that owe preferment to him! How many of them that, through his care, attention and politeness have felt themselves welcome at Washington? Yes, sir, Mr. Clay was alike distinguished for his social virtues and for his political integrity. He met a Kentuckian at Washington, as a brother, and the son of a Kentuckian as the son of a brother. It was during Mr. Clay's service in Congress that many of the most important and beneficial measures, relative to the west, were carried. At all times the ardent friend of the West, he was ever foremost in asserting and defending her interests. His energies were successfully directed to the opening of the great national high-way from the navigable waters of the Potomac to the Ohio; and before he closed his public life, he had the satisfaction of seeing that great public work pushed, not only to the Ohio, but even into the heart of the western country: Sensible that, in our vast republic an equal distribution of the public funds, for public purposes, among all the States, was the only mode by which the government would or could be supported by the people, he was the champion of the right of congress to make internal improvements for national purposes. For it required no foresight to discern, that if all the public monies were, from the nature of our government, to be expended upon fortifications, light houses and break-waters, that Kentucky and the other western States would be taxed to support the extremes, without the return of a corresponding benefit, that this drain from the centre to the extremes could but tend to impoverish the west, and especially the State he represented. He was, therefore, vigilant in bringing the national funds to a proper condition, to commence the great work of improving and facilitating the intercourse and commerce between the states.

And here, Mr. Speaker, I will be permitted to take notice of what was said by the honorable Speaker the other day. He, sir,

said, that he was a friend to Internal Improvement, but he was a friend to the constitution, and he would not break the constitution to make national improvements. Sir, I can make little out of this remark, but if I can understand any thing from it, it is that Mr. Speaker has caught the Jacksonizing view of the constitution, and is, like his President, willing to tinker with the constitution a little, before he is willing that the nation shall make her highways for national purposes. Mr. Speaker, do you know, Sir, when and how these constitutional scruples were first raised in your own mind? Do you, Sir, know when and how they were first raised elsewhere? With you, Sir, rests the question as to yourself. But history, impartial history, will both arraign the motives and mark the time, when the government of this Union was maimed and crippled in its powers, to effect the beneficial results proposed to the American people by its founders. Sir, as late as 1816, South-Carolina, (that State whose resolves against the power of Congress to make roads for national purposes are now before us,) was the foremost among the States to press the subject upon Congress. She was then represented by her Lowndes' and not her M'Duffies. Then, Mr. Speaker, John C. Calhoun, your Vice President, a member from that State, reported a bill forming a national fund for the purpose of making Internal Improvements. In the session of 1827, I read to the Senate the journal shewing this fact. It is now within the reach of every Senator. Then, Sir, Calhoun, Lowndes and I believe every member of the South-Carolina delegation, were ardent friends to Internal Improvements for national purposes. There was then no difference of opinion between them and Clay, as to the powers of the national government to make national highways. Indeed, to use the language of Mr. Livingston, *one of the oldest members of Congress*, this power was never doubted or thought of being doubted, from the foundation of the government, until about the time that Mr. Monroë's administration expired. It was about this period that Mr. Clay was spoken of as his successor. The west had been greatly benefitted by his public services—the west felt a deep interest in the exercise of this benificent and paternal power by the national government. Mr. Clay's name was identified with this interest. A citizen or citizens of Wheeling, had erected a monument to his name near the spot where the great national road struck the river Ohio. There were other gentlemen that were also spoken of; the friends of all looked to the west for votes for their favorites; the friends of each of these candidates supposed that if Clay were disposed of, that their favorite would succeed. To persuade the west that to make national roads would really injure the western people, was a hopeless task; equally hopeless was the prospect of persuading the people of the west that either of the other candidates could or would do more to improve the west than Clay. The only way then, left for them, was to render hopeless the pros-

pect of the west on this subject, by denying the power of Congress to make national roads altogether; and thereby to persuade the west that it mattered not who was elected, the nation would not, because they could not, expend any portion of the national taxes in the west, by improving and opening the roads and navigable streams for national purposes. Clay had also, on his first entering into Congress, pressed upon that body the necessity of protecting our manufactures from the ruin with which they were threatened from the British weavers. He had succeeded in part in obtaining revisions of the tariff laws, and all eyes were turned to him in a third war for our independence of Great Britain, to be fought by their weavers and our own. It was equally vain for the office hunters to attempt to persuade the patriotic manufacturer and the plain farmer, that in these exertions of Mr. Clay, he was not their friend. It became them then to make new discoveries in the constitution on this point also; and the power to pass tariff laws as well as laws for Internal Improvements, were declared to be unconstitutional by all the office hunters and office seekers in the canvass. Mark what I say, Sir. I have said and now say, that the want of this power is a novel discovery of the friends of General Jackson and those of the other candidates. Nay, Sir, I misname it, it is a novel invention to prostrate and ruin the political standing of Clay. Sir, did not Jefferson as early as 1807, sign the road bill, passed to open the national road from Cumberland to the Ohio, and all the bills making appropriations for it that passed while he was in office, and did he ever doubt his constitutional power to do so. Did not Giles, the present Governor of Virginia, now so loud and long against the power and the policy, make a flaming speech in favor of the policy of those bills! Yes, Sir, on a former occasion I read to this Senate bill after bill signed by Jefferson, making provisions for the opening of national highways; I also read to the Senate Giles' speech, in which he boasts that the time had arrived when the national energies and national capital should be appropriated to improvement of, and opening the national highways. For most of these bills, nay, for all of them, John Pope, then a Senator from Kentucky voted, and as I believe, so did every member we had in both branches of the Legislature at that time. And now, Sir, some of these very men are calling down the vengeance of the people upon the devoted head of Mr. Clay, because he has read the constitution as Washington, Adams, Jefferson and all before him read it. Mr. Speaker, rely on it here commenced your own political doubts. Here commenced Giles's and others doubts. Clay must be sacrificed, and while the demagogues at a distance from the Cumberland road were denouncing him for his favoring the system of Internal Improvement, General Jackson stationed Carter Beverly at Wheeling to disseminate, on his, Jackson's own authority, the story of intrigue, bargain and sale. Clay had, during the administrations of Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and

Mr. Adams, largely participated in the agency of the national government. He knew the value and virtue of many officers that had grown gray in the service of their country. He, therefore, was not expected to put the public offices to sale nor the national resources to sacrifice. He was, of course, not the favorite of the office hunters. They were for the money and for the man that would give it to them; and hence Mr. Speaker, the great popularity of President Jackson, and hence too, the incessant persecution of Clay. It is now piping times with those lean, hungry cormorants, that hung once upon other administrations begging treasury pay; they know well, Sir, but for Jackson they would still be the same hungry, lean expectants from the treasury. The name, nay thought of Clay to this tribe is terrifying; they well remember how weary, lank and lean they were, waiting but for a crum to fall from the treasury, while now they sit down to the first table. No wonder they are alarmed if Mr. Clay but dine with his friends. Their all is at stake in President Jackson; it is him that feeds the hungry and clothes the naked printers, those vultures that once fed on slander and roosted in garrets, are now banquetting on the spoils of the treasury, *lodged in public edifices*, and from the labor of the people arrayed in purple and fine linnen. There is another class, Mr. Speaker, a degree lower than these, equally concerned about Mr. Clay. It is that class that are knocking for favors at the door of the palace, who are waiting for dead men's shoes; who are writing to President Jackson, his Secretaries and Post-master General, how loyal they have been and are—spies who note down what they hear, and transmit it to the Presidential ear—creatures that boast how much they have abused Clay and Adams, and who have hoarded up little tales about coffin handbills, Chickasaw speculations and other aberrations of the general, to abuse the executive confidence with; Mr. Clay can't leave home but this pack is in full cry after him. They know full well that this is now the road to office—that every chase of this kind runs down some poor post-master, or clerk or collector, and that his office falls to the lot of him that has the loudest note in the political hunt. It is said that whenever the British butchers wished to dispose of their victims, during the troubles in Ireland, their creatures always raised the cry that Napper Tandy was in Dublin; and while the people were alarmed and excited for their king and religion, the ministers were slaughtering their victims. It really seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that the ministers of General Jackson, through their imps and spies, are playing the same game at this moment. There are many sober minded Jackson men that detest the proscription of Jackson; many doubt its necessity. These must be deceived or they leave the party. Hence it is, that whenever your President and his underlings wish to sacrifice a few honest, faithful public servants, to make way for more of their creatures, that their spies raise the hue

and cry that Napper Tandy is in Dublin. Yes, Clay is loose, and his majesty's crown and whole dominions are in danger. It is thus, Mr. Speaker, that this administration is using up the honest men of both parties, deceiving their honest friends by the clamor of their mercenaries.

Mr. Speaker, this watchfulness of Mr. Clay argues but little for the administration. There is something mean in a whole nation arraying itself against a solitary individual. Whenever this has been the case, it has seldom happened that the government was not wrong and the individual right. For the justice of this remark, I appeal to all history, (the speech of the honorable Speaker, to the contrary notwithstanding.) That gentleman said, I think, that the majority was against Mr. Clay, and the majority must be right. The same remark fell from the gentleman from Livingston, (Mr. Campbell.) That gentleman said that when Mr. Clay was abandoned by the nation he ought to be abandoned by his friends. That is not my doctrine, Mr. Speaker. When I see an individual like Cæsar, or Jackson, with an army at his heels, and hear the people cry long live Jackson, or Cæsar, I will inquire whether Cæsar or Cato is the patriot, or Jackson or Louallier is the Patriot. There were times, Sir, when Buonaparte, Cæsar and Cromwell were all men of the people. Was Buonaparte more a patriot, when he, the man of the majority, at the point of the bayonet, expelled the national assembly of France, than he was when he was chained to the rock of St. Helena? Was Cæsar more a patriot, when, with a majority at his heels, he subverted the authorities of the Senate and the tribunes, than he was when he fell by the assassin's dagger? Was Cromwell more a patriot for expelling the members of the British Parliament with a majority at his heels? And is Jackson the better patriot because, in imitation of these splendid tyrants, he, with an army at his heels, subverted the powers and expelled from their halls the Legislature of a sovereign State? No; Mr. Speaker, you are not to close my ears nor shut my mouth because General Jackson may have a majority of this nation on his side. I will not, therefore, be deterred from bestowing the mead of praise where praise is due, on an injured and grossly slandered patriot. What is this contest and how is it forced upon us! Why, the friends of the administration, not contented with their victory so much lauded, in this debate, force upon the Legislature of Kentucky a string of resolutions, all pointing directly at the political course of Mr. Clay. They call upon us to resolve that Congress has no power to make a national road for national purposes; that Congress has no power to lay a tax upon foreign commerce, with a view to protect our own labor; and this comes from South-Carolina, the very State, which, previous to Mr. Clay's being run as a candidate for President, was the most ardently devoted of all the States in the Union, to these very principles which we are now, by her, called on to disavow. What is this

but a masked battery, a Jackson battery, to play upon the political reputation of Mr. Clay, for the benefit of their heir apparent to the Jackson crown. The lower house have so understood it, and have therefore, added to their negative of these extraordinary resolves of South-Carolina, a declaration of their unshaken confidence in Mr. Clay; and now, to be sure, we, who were perfectly willing to have been silent, to have done the people's business and returned home, are upbraided by the worthy friends of General Jackson *here*, with having thrown this fire brand into the Legislature. Sir, this is the game you played us in 1827. You demanded an investigation into Mr. Clay's conduct. You told us if we would allow you to send for persons and papers you would prove the intrigue, corruption, bargain and sale story. We refused. You at us again. We endeavored to dissuade you from so extraordinary a course; and then you bearded us with your insolent printer, who, in the Jackson Journal edited by him, told us we dare not grant the leave. We indulged you, and when you, as I before stated, had exhausted the patience and time of the Senate, as well as the treasury, in that most scandalous business, and failed, you then abused us for letting you do it. You have forced these resolutions on us; they are started at the moment that the President's message is under the hammer. His speech is but the echo of those resolutions, or the resolutions the echo of his speech. They are sent with a demand that the executive shall lay them before us. If we had not acted on them, we might and would have been justly charged with neglect of duty, and the want of respect for the opinion of a sister State.

Sir, I beg you to read the message and these resolutions, and see how exactly they chime together. Will you, Mr. Speaker, pretend to say, that there is no concert in this business, to commit the State of Kentucky on them? Sir, it was no doubt hoped by the movers in Carolina, and the advocates of Jackson's plans for constitution mending, that Jackson had his majorities here, and that even Kentucky would be caught into this anti-tariff and anti-Internal Improvement construction of the constitution of the United States. But it turns out differently. There are, thank God, but few here that dare, before the people of Kentucky, to affirm the principles avowed in these resolutions, and but a lean minority that will go with President Jackson in his constitution mending. Well, how then are we, the friends of Mr. Clay, chargable with all the time and money which will be spent on these Jackson resolutions? Mr. Speaker, we will take the whole responsibility from you. If you are tired of your child, we will nurse it for you. The people, I trust, will think themselves amply compensated for the time and money lost, in the able vindication which their constitution and their public servant have, in the response of the lower house. They will now know who it is, among us, that is for denying the right of

Congress to protect the labor of the country against the competition of foreigners, and who it is that is willing that Kentucky shall be forever taxed to build light houses, fortifications and break waters in other States, without the hope of our having a national road, canal or other improvement in our own State. But say gentlemen, strike Mr. Clay's name from the preamble and we will let you pass the resolutions. Sir, to this I reply; no one expects gentlemen opposed to the preamble to vote for it. Why were not gentlemen, who now speak of lost time, contented to act as we were; to vote without long speeches. No, Sir, they must have it committed that Mr. Speaker should give his views; they are gratified. Mr. Speaker entertained us with at least too phillippics against Mr. Clay and gave to others a passing notice. The whole matter was considered as closed, and when I was called to the Senate I expected only to give my vote; but to my astonishment, the Senate was presented with the amendment of the gentleman from Livingston, and then entertained with too long speeches, the one from that gentleman and the other by the gentleman from Green; and yet we are charged with killing time, among our other offences. Did the gentlemen mean to kill time? No. Did they expect to gain our votes on the side of anti-Tariff and anti-Internal Improvement measures? scarcely. What then did they speak for? Effect. Sir, very well, they shall have it. I am content to debate it out with them, let their speeches have what effect they may. The two gentlemen, Mr. Maupin and Mr. Allen, rest their whole grounds of complaint against Mr. Clay, in the charge that he deserted the people in 1824, in voting for Mr. Adams; and Mr. Speaker, alluding to myself, asked if he did not vote for General Jackson in 1824. This subject to me was once disagreeable, because I never like to account to those I am not accountable to, for my political conduct; nor to prove my consistency to satisfy either the vanity or vexation of gentlemen, who, instead of meeting any subject of discussion fairly, expect to either escape from their antagonist or carry their point by an attack on his political consistency. But on the present occasion I am not at all disobliged by the Speaker's so kindly referring to my course in relation to President Jackson. As I am not, however, put on my trial in the resolution, I will first rescue Mr. Clay from either disobeying the voice of the people or deserting their interest in 1824. Sir, said Mr. Wickliffe, Mr. Clay was, at that period, a member of the House of Representatives from this State, elected by the people of his district, when it became his duty to vote for a President of the United States. This duty devolved on him after he parted with his constituents; indeed, before he left home, it was not known whether, from his own situation, he would have to perform that duty. After it was known that he would not be one of the three highest, and that he must perform the duty of an elector, his constituents left him free to act—they knew their interests were safe in his hands,

and many of them wrote to him to that effect. There is no doubt that Mr. Clay had strong personal feelings for Crawford, as well as his former political associations, to induce him to vote for Mr. Crawford; but Mr. Crawford's health and the utter impossibility of uniting a majority of the States on him, rendered it his duty to select a President between Jackson and Adams. He knew Adams well, he knew him to be a ripe scholar and an able statesman, and believed him to be a patriot. He had served with him at Ghent and in London, and could but respect his talents and experience. He had witnessed his conduct as Secretary of State, and could but acknowledge the great talent and industry he had displayed while at the head of the department of State. Adams had, through life, been devoted to business, and in reputation and practice was a constitutional statesman, who had never been charged with, much less guilty of, violating and trampling under foot the laws and constitution of his country. Jackson, on the contrary, was in every thing the antipode of Adams; passionate and impetuous. He had been a lawyer, judge, merchant; some times one thing and some times another, until the war brought him into notice. From being a militia general, he became a general in the regular army; and was, the few years he was in the camp, a fortunate soldier. He had triumphed over the naked and half armed Creeks and Seminoles, and had, with an overwhelming force, against the orders of his superiors, twice invaded the territories of a friendly power and given that power just provocation for war. He had repulsed the invading army at New-Orleans, when his fortified camp was assailed, and peace interposed to stop another battle between him and the British. These constituted General Jackson's fairest and highest claims to the Presidency; against them was to be set down his excessive vanity and overbearing tyranny, displayed on each and every point where those passions could find materials to act upon. He had, at the battle of the Horse Shoe, directed an indiscriminate slaughter of the unresisting Creeks. He had courtmarshalled, condemned and shot, John Wood, a poor militia boy, for a trifling misdemeanor. He had courtmarshalled and shot six other militia men, for a mistake of their rights—to make the worst of their offence. He had, when backed by his soldiery, subverted the sovereign power of the State of Louisiana and substituted his will for her law and for her constitution; and after causing the doors of her Legislature to be closed against her representatives, he, in violation of the constitution, courtmarshalled one of the members of the Legislature, and when the board of officers, selected by himself as the instrument of his tyranny, refused to condemn the member to death, he refused to ratify the sentence and ordered them to re-try him. When Governor of Florida, he had thrown the representative of Spain into jail, in violation of the laws of nations; and when a judge of the United States, in the official discharge of his duty, inquired into the cause

of the commitment of the Spanish Governor, Jackson, after bestowing on him the coarsest abuse, plunged him into a jail also. These facts and many others crowded the evidence upon Mr. Clay's mind, that Jackson was, in temper, rash and vindictive, and that, feeling power he forgot right. On this view of the two men, I pray you, Sir, whom ought Mr. Clay to choose as the President of the United States, as the father of millions of freemen? Mr. Clay chose Mr. Adams; and let me inquire if he deserted the public interest in so doing? This can be ascertained only by the fruits of Mr. Adams' administration. When Mr. Adams entered upon the duties of his office, the National and State institutions had but half recovered from the shock received from the war; many of our treaties with foreign nations had expired or were expiring. Many of the States, (and our own was one,) had not freed themselves from the visions of relief and paper banks—confidence in all the trading departments was much impaired, and the national debt amounted to near one hundred millions. Our infant manufactures were struggling for existence. Clay and others who voted for Adams, saw the difficulties which lay before him, and when the office of Secretary of State was pressed upon Clay, every member, in both houses, from this State, and many of those of other States urged upon him, that as he had voted for Mr. Adams, he owed it to that gentleman and the nation, to lay his shoulders to the wheels of the government, and in that way meet his full portion of the highly responsible duties of the executive. Here, as when he first turned his back on his family and fortune, he was governed by those he thought his friends, some of whom have paid him for it in the blackest ingratitude. But, Sir, while time, that test of truth shall roll on, still the astonishing fact will be told, that Clay and Adams, and the rest of the cabinet, so managed the executive department, with both branches of the Legislature marring and paralyzing them, as to, in the brief space of four years, produce the most astonishing and happy effects upon the whole nation. Yes, Sir, they contrived so to manage the foreign relations and domestic concerns, as to restore confidence, invigorate commerce and give a spring and increase to agriculture, mechanics and every branch of labor. With a combination of office seekers, British merchants and government speculators, too strong to be resisted, distracting and alienating the people—they carried the vessel of State through in perfect safety. The army and navy were never better trained, paid and conditioned—our flag was every where respected and our commerce and rights throughout the world protected; our drooping manufactories were raised into vigor and life, and instead of that ruin that seemed to await them when Mr. Adams assumed the government, they were enriching their owners, and their products, rivaling England, both in our own and foreign markets. When Jackson came into office never did any people enjoy a greater degree of prosperity; in our own State, the average of

our only staple, hemp, was double what it was during the preceeding administration, and double what it is now. Adams left the treasury overflowing with nearly six millions of dollars, having paid, in principal and interest of the national debt, about forty-seven millions of dollars; and during this brief period, millions were expended to increase your navy; yes, Sir, to add to that proud navy those seventy-fours, those emblems of your growing wealth and power, which President Jackson finds too expensive to build; he prefers to distribute the money among his official corps to building seventy-fours with it. But even this is not all. Millions were appropriated to the improvement of the highways and in opening canals and roads. Yes, Sir, more money was, during this administration, expended on western Internal Improvements, than has been expended by all the administrations since the foundation of the government. Was ever there a people happier, if peace, comfort and plenty can make man happy—We were happy. I pray God we may have the same cause to rejoice, in thanksgiving to the Ruler of nations, for four years of like prosperity under General Jackson's dynasty. Mr. Speaker, you all know what I say, we were happy, we were prosperous; we were troubled with nothing in relation to our government, except the falsehoods endorsed, "Free, Tom P. Moore," or the billingsgate abuse of Amos Kendall. On this view of the subject, need I ask you whether you really do think Mr. Clay abandoned or advanced the interest of his country in voting for Mr. Adams?

Nor was Mr. Clay's benevolence and that of Mr. Adams confined to the wealth, happiness and prosperity of the United States alone. When they entered into office, South America was bleeding at every poor, and Greece, the land of science and of heroes, was a mere slaughter house for her sons. Sir, how often has the question been asked, what stayed the Holy Alliance from crushing the rebellion of Greece and the rebellion of South America against the claims of legitimacy? Sir, read Clays letter to Middleton, and there you will find the key to this great secret. Clay there unfolds to Alexander the mighty emperor of the north, the true path of Russian glory. He tells our Minister that Alexander is high in fame as a warrior and a statesman, and is as renowned for his benevolence as he is for power and wealth, and then points to bleeding Greece and bleeding South America, as proper theatres for his ample benevolence to act upon. He tells the minister in substance, that he, Alexander, has only to say let there be peace and there will be peace; and that he will then as far excel his cotemporaries in fame for benevolence and philanthropy, as he does in the extent of his dominions, and his fame as a warrior. I do not pretend to give a copy or an outline of this document; it is several years since I read it, and I know I cannot give its likeness; its equal I have never seen. But I say let those who choose, compare dates and mark the events that succeeded the sight

of this letter by Alexander. The minister was instructed to show the letter to the Emperor and shortly after the receipt of this letter you will read of Alexander's visiting the extremes of his empire, a movement preparatory for war in the Russian history. You hear of no more conventions of the Holy Alliance to settle affairs between Spain and her colonies; and in due season the convention of London is formed and submitted to the grand Sultan, and not long after the battle of Navarino broke the fleets of Egypt and Turkey into atoms. Alexander fell by poison before he achieved the liberty of Greece, and stopt the shedding of blood in South America; but Nicholas has followed up the plans of his brother and broken up the power of the Turk.

Mr. Speaker, gentlemen may taunt Mr. Clay with his fall and the elevation of his mortal enemy; but may he not look back upon the liberties of Greece and of the South American States; of the four years unparalleled prosperity of twelve millions of souls here; upon twenty odd years of successful and faithful service for his country. May he not look back at his many other mental achievements for his country, and looking back upon these things, say to these taunting gentlemen, I forgive you, for you know not what you do. Mr. Speaker there is some apology for men that attack the strong; they risk something; thus the robber is always placed above the sneaking thief who does the injury and risks nothing. But to taunt, to revel on the feelings of a fallen man, is but one remove from insulting of the dead. The strumpet Fulvia glutted her vengeance upon the dead Cicero by piercing the tongue of that great man with her bodkin. When God forsook the man after his own heart, and when this infallible test, the majority, placed his rebel son on his throne, a wretch insulted and assailed David, threw stones at him and called him a damned dog; and when the Saviour of the world hung on the cross, bearing our guilt upon his innocent shoulders, his murderers insulted him and wagging their heads at their victim, bid him that could save the world, to now save himself. Let me ask gentlemen not to imitate those fiend like examples, by insulting their supposed State prisoner with jeers and taunts. These gentlemen should, from prudence, not do it. The people will not bear long, to see the powerless insulted. If Mr. Clay is thus fallen and prostrate, beware, gentlemen, of your taunts and jeers, least you awaken the high-minded Kentuckian's sympathy. If it be true that Clay is down and that Jackson will keep him so; if the whole weight of himself, his cabinet, his army of soldiers, his army of post-masters and pensioners, of office holders and office hunters, sustained by a revenue of twenty millions annually, be arrayed against this solitary and powerless individual, is not his history and his life an interesting one? may not, ought not that sympathy, that phylanthropy, which sighs for great Cato's fall—that weeps over the graves of Hampden and

Sidney, rather to step between this overwhelming, this unrelenting power, than to aggravate, than to rejoice at a great man's fall.

But, Mr. Speaker, I thank God, that my friend, my beloved friend, is yet far, far above the tauntings of his enemies. He can but feel them as the noxious breath of a corrupt and feeble court, of an administration, conscious of its own weakness and corruptions; too feeble to stand upon its own merits, is calling to its aid the vampires of office; and like the tyrant of old, proclaiming universal proscription against all, who do not fall down and worship at the name of the great political idol. As one, Mr. Speaker, I am prepared to vote for the resolutions, preamble and all, as they passed the House of Representatives. I have no doubt, I have never doubted the power of Congress to make national roads, and every other national work which the national good requires; nor has my confidence in the unbending integrity of Mr. Clay been shaken, by any thing I know myself or have heard from the honorable Speaker or other gentlemen in this debate. But I am now called on by the gentleman's amendment or substitute, not only to express my faith in General Jackson's administration, but to pass the highest encomium upon him and his associates in power; to declare that I have confidence in the present state of things, that the great interests of labour, to-wit: agriculture, manufactures and commerce, will be fully protected by General Jackson and his cabinet. This I am unwilling to do; and as a justification for my refusing to do so, I beg leave to lay before the Senate some of the many reasons which divest my mind of all confidence, in both President Jackson and his cabinet. His message lies before me; but before I appeal to that, to prove that he has forfeited all claim to the confidence of the American people, in his fitness and capacity for the office he holds, I will appeal to facts notorious to the whole American people. The first one is, that he entered upon his office at a time of the greatest national prosperity; when his predecessor had restored the confidence of the American people in all the national institutions; when the national credit was at its highest possible point. He found in the treasury nearly six millions of dollars unappropriated, after every demand had been met. In four years, about forty-seven millions of the national debt had been paid off, and millions had been appropriated to improve the highways and navigable streams of the country. He found the army, navy and every branch of the Executive department, in the best possible condition; equally prosperous was the condition of the states and the citizens thereof. The navy and the collecting officers had utterly extirpated smuggling, while in the brief space of four years, Adams and his cabinet had double the manufactories of the nation. In fine, had give a spring to every branch of industry, from the capitol to the extremes of the empire. In all the States the circulating medium was pure, and equal to the demands of labour; and in some of the States the banks and money lenders had to reduce

the interest on money, below the statute rates, to find borrowers; so abundant was capital and so great was the confidence of the people, when Jackson entered upon his Presidential career. And sir, he has been at work not quite one short year, and what is the face of every thing within the blasting influence of his administration. From Maine to New Orleans there is but one universal sensation, and that is of alarm. No man has, or ought to have confidence in the present state of things, is the reply of every capitalist, is the decision of every prudent man. While Adams and the abused Clay were in power, the very friends of Jackson felt a confidence they are now strangers to. I do not mean sir, his office seeking, his office finding friends, but such friends as were cheated into a belief that he was competent to, and deserving of the office; some such as now hear me, sir, during the four years of Mr. Adam's administration. The only staple your country has, *hemp*, bore an average of six cents per pound; General Jackson has brought it down to *three cents per pound*. He has brought it down sir, to a price that will not pay for the raising of it. Suppose, sir, you were to calculate the average profits upon the growth and manufacture of hemp in Kentucky in Mr. Adam's administration, and that since General Jackson has been your President. If you were, you would soon see why it is that no confidence can be, or is placed, by those engaged in this department of labour, in General Jackson or his cabinet. Nay, sir, you will in this way find out why it is that there is a distress already complained of, by the great body of the people north of the Kentucky, to which they were strangers during the administration of Mr. Adams. Six cents on the pound, gave the agriculturalist a reasonable profit; three cents gives him no profit, but a loss. The southern markets gave the manufacturer a fair profit; but since Jackson and his cabinet has failed to execute the laws against smuggling, the manufacturer cannot sell his rope and bagging at a profit. The consequence therefore is, that both the farmer and manufacturer, by pursuing the business, unprotected as they are by Jackson's government, can only bring poverty and ruin upon themselves; and many have, and all must, in time, quit the growth and manufacture of hemp, unless a change in the administration is effected. Sir, the change of the administration has, in the article of hemp alone, cost the people of Kentucky, at the rate of half a million of dollars annually. And yet you call upon the representatives of hemp growers, to sound his praises forth to the American people. Sir, we have other evidences in our State of the blighting influence of Jackson's administration—we have it written in the decay of our towns and manufacturies, in the ruin and emigration of our mechanics. In the town of Lexington, manufacturing enriched the manufacturer, as well as multiplied more than two hundred fold during the administration of Adams; all the mechanics were enabled to live; each year called forth mechanical labour to build up new factories. But Jackson's administration has

struck the manufacturing interest and the hopes of the mechanic, *a death's blow*. Instead of the happy thrift and prosperity that was witnessed there, twelve months since, all is consternation and doubt, and many of the most valuable mechanics have emigrated. Yes, sir, they emigrate in quest of labour; but they must leave these United States, if they expect to escape the universal wither which General Jackson has brought upon the nation. They may as well attempt to escape death itself, as to escape the blighting influence of his administration. The cause is systematic, it has its foundation in the very principles of Jackson's administration—principles which starve labour, to feed office hunting. If this is the condition of things in our own State, what State or Territory within the malignant policy of the administration is in a better condition; is it the southern or cotton growing States (that were promised so much when the hero should succeed) that has been benefitted? No, sir, if we can believe their orators, their condition is altogether insufferable; is it the old dominion or the middle States that have drawn the prize and left us nothing but blanks in this political lottery? no sir, no. At this moment Virginia is blazing with mental heat and animosity that may consume her *peace*, but can never fertilize her wasted fields. And Pennsylvania, that strong hold of Jacksonism, what has she gained by this victory of the hero over his political enemies? nothing but the ruin of her manufacturers and the loss of her credit. Why is it sir, that Pennsylvania—the *great State* of Pennsylvania, with her Dutch Governor, with all his Dutch courage, cant borrow money from the Pennsylvania Dutchman, to carry on her works of Internal Improvement, but has had to suspend them for the want of means since General Jackson has come into office? because Jacksonism has destroyed all confidence there, too, except among the political gamblers of Pennsylvania. Is it the east that has caught the boon promised? Oh no, the Yankee has caught a tartar. No, sir, never since the embargo, has he met with any thing like Jackson. If we believe the prints, never within the memory of man was there greater distress in the money market—never a greater want of confidence than now reigns in Boston. Money that was two years since so abundant, that it was a dreg at five per cent in Boston, we are told, is now so scarce that it cant be had to meet the pressing calls of the distressed merchant or manufacturer, at any rate of interest; and these manufacturers the most flourishing portions of their citizens during Adams' administration, have had what was left them by the incendiaries of British smugglers, swept from them by the perfidy of the administration. I said sir, what was left by the incendiaries of smugglers. You know that during the years 1828 and 29, that factories to the amount of four hundred thousand dollars, within less than one hundred and fifty miles of Boston, were burnt by incendiaries to make way for British manufactures so soon as Jackson should come into office; yet these enterprising and in-

jured citizens, who staked their all on the faith of government, are in distress, despondence and disfavour. while the smugglers and British factors command the markets of the emporium of the East. Perhaps, sir, I may be pointed to that great and growing city, New York, as an evidence of the blessed effects of the present administration upon capital and confidence. Is it so? Mr. Speaker, not many years since, I remember to have seen an account that that city wanted to borrow nine hundred thousand dollars; that the books were opened but a few hours; but such was the crowd of money lenders, that when the books closed, more than a million and a half was subscribed, and the great distress and difficulty of the corporation, was how to scale the loans, as none of the lenders were willing to withdraw. Now, sir, since that State has become Jacksonized or Van Burenized, how do matters stand. Why, sir, the whole State can't raise a capital, for a State or Jackson bank. The city papers from that quarter say, that the books for the great State Bank, had stood open for subscribers for several days in the city; but that the loan had failed, only a few thousand dollars being subscribed.

I have thus, Mr. Speaker, cited you to every point of our vast confederacy, and shown you the fruits of Jacksonism. It is the same every where, except among smugglers and office mongers. There is but one universal want of confidence; and, sir, before twelve months more roll around, there will be one universal distress among all the departments of labour. You ask me how has Jackson brought about this change, so adverse to the general good. I answer, by a failure to execute the Tariff; by a failure to call to his aid in the administration, the good and wise of the nation; by throwing the administration into the hands of incompetent, vindictive and revengeful men; by using his office to reward his friends and to punish his enemies; by these means and more to be mentioned, he has destroyed all confidence. It was the same course that Desha and his party took which destroyed all confidence *here*, that he pursues, that is destroying all confidence in the nation. He is not only pursuing the same policy that Desha pursued, of time tinkering, constitution mending and Judge breaking; but some of Desha's time tinkers and Judge breakers, are his privy counsellors. What then can follow, but the same want of confidence, general confusion and distress on a larger scale, that we felt during the unfortunate administration of General Desha? Like causes produce like effects; and the same men that brought Kentucky to ruin, will bring this great nation to it, unless they are checked by the nation as they were by the people of Kentucky. I have made this remark, predicated upon the exterior complexion and avowed principles of Jackson's administration; that is, to reward his friends and punish his enemies; to use the whole resources of the nation to gratify, to pamper friends and to call into action all the hellish passions of malice and revenge, to hunt down and punish his enemies. While General Jackson was

striving for the office of President, the American people were warned against this temper of his mind. They were warned of his connexion with Burr, and his numerous violations and disregards of constitutional restrictions. From Maine to New-Orleans, the people were warned that their constitution was in danger—that the independence of the judiciary was in danger—that the revenue laws would be repealed or not executed, should Jackson be elected. All these charges and anticipations were stoutly denied by his friends, and set down to the malice of his accusers. Let us enquire how far he has justified the prophecies of his enemies. It will be borne in mind that the United States were divided upon the subject of the Tariff laws of 1824 and 7, particularly the latter act. The minority against those acts, were both menacing and uncompromising, while the majority believed them essential to the independence of the American people as well as their happiness—that during his struggle for the Presidency, he observed an oracular language respecting both interests. To the Tariff States he was a Tariff man, and to the Anti-Tariff States, he was Anti-Tariff. Each party of his friends read him to their side of the question. That his feelings were opposed to the tariff, I never doubted; but I knew he would not, he dare not come out against it; that the only course left him would be to deceive the tariff States, by allowing the anti-tariff interests to have all the benefit of a total repeal, without such repeal being, at his recommendation, or appearing on the statute book. The British factors, who contributed largely to the funds to secure the President his triumph, well understood this dilemma, and saw the road by which the President would attempt to extricate himself. Smuggling had been but a poor trade, while such men as Southard commanded the navy, and such men as Thompson and Dearborn were heads of the customs. During the administration of Mr. Adams the revenue cutters were not only kept continually on the alert, so as to intercept all smuggling upon the coasts, but the utmost exertions were used that could be, by the Custom house officers, to suppress and detect it on land. The effect of this vigilance was, not only to fill the treasury to overflowing, but to protect and foster the manufacturers, to the full extent of the laws made for their benefit. But as the prospects of Jackson's election brightened, it became obvious that the smuggling interests grew with the combination and strengthened with its strength.

During the summer 1828, in most of the seaports, vessels for smuggling were notoriously put upon the stocks in our own ports as well as in Canada, while all along our borders, the British and American smugglers erected ware-houses and filled them with merchandize, ready for smuggling. This latter fact was ascertained by General Porter, who, I believe, ordered the military to sustain the Custom-house officers in that quarter, in their efforts to suppress smuggling. All this was well known to both Jackson and his cabinet; for

his friends had drawn from General Porter, by an attempt to inculpate his conduct as Secretary at war, all the information they could need, to prepare them against the contemplated smuggling, as soon as Adams should be evicted from office. Jackson and his cabinet also knew, that New-York and Boston were not only the feeders of the treasury, but points that required to be well guarded, against the machinations of the emissaries of the British to introduce goods duty free. At New-York, nearly ten millions of the customs were received annually, and at Boston nearly half that amount. In New-York he found Mr. Thompson, his political friend, but a highly honorable man, in the office of collector of the Customs, one whose capacity had been proven and well tried; and the customs under the strictest watch and vigilance. No exception could be taken to Thompson. Adams knew he was opposed to his administration. Many had in vain attempted to make him discharge that worthy officer, and to prefer the claims of personal and political friends. His Secretary, Rush, informed him, however, that no man was more faithful and competent than Thompson; and Adams disdained to let his private interests and friendships prevail over the public good. But the hero of two wars comes into power; and how does he act? at this important point and at this important period, did he continue this honorable and faithful public officer, this political friend? Did he let the public interests triumph over his private friendships and sinister obligations, as his predecessor did? No, Sir, his friend, his beloved friend, the aid and the beloved friend of Aaron Burr, the man that bore the letter in cypher from that modern *Cataline* to Wilkinson, must be provided for, out of the game run down in the political hunt, and this right bower of Burr, in his attempt to deluge the western country in blood and tears, is made collector; and Major Noah, the blackguard, self-styled Judge of Israel, surveyor of the port of New-York; the one, Swartwort, at an income of from eight to ten thousand dollars annually, and the other at a salary of three thousand. One of these gentlemen, since his expedition under Colonel Burr, and his trial for it, has cut but little figure before the American people; and whether he was drawn out by the chieftain from a garret or a cellar in *New-York*, none of his friends have been able to answer me—of the other the public has had more recent information. He is the same *Mordeica Noah* that published himself Judge of Israel, and built up the city of Arrarat; the same gentleman that has figured in all the filth and slough, of slander and detraction in the city of New-York; the dirty editor of a filthy newspaper. These are the two worthies, *honest Jackson men*, to whom the collection of ten millions of your revenue is committed. How was it in Boston when Jackson went into office? He found the Customs under the control of General Dearborn, a patriot and the son of a patriot; a man of tried integrity and approved capacity, and a man against whom the breath of mal-

ice had scarcely dared to breathe. But the purity of this gentleman's character, his fitness for the office and the public good, formed no barrier in the work of the destroyer; he too was removed to make way for one of the President's favorites. I think they call the man who succeeded him, *Henshaw*. Of Henshaw I never heard until I saw his appointment, and on inquiring of a distinguished citizen of Boston who he was, and what it was that endeared him to the President, he informed me, that he was a dirty grocer; who, by dealing with the *tenants of brothels* and sailors, in salt, cod-fish, salmon, taffey brandy and molasses, had accumulated some money; but not being countenanced by the respectable-dealers of the city, had, in partnership with a client lacking lawyer, set up a libellous newspaper; the lawyer acting or playing editor and the grocer the owner of the press, from which they issued their weekly billingsgate abuse against all that was decent in the city; that when the hero was first brought forward, the grocer and his man, like *Mordeica Noah*, made very free with his character and pretensions—But that after the combination against Adams was formed, and it was understood that the British factors and others had raised a fund of \$50,000 to elect Jackson, the grocer and his man Friday went over, and not only distinguished themselves in publishing all the ordinary slanders and abuse against the late President, but claimed the proud eminence of having invented and published a gross falsehood and slander upon the President's lady and family. For thus distinguishing himself above all the General's friends in Boston, this contemptible libeller has been made the collector of the Customs in Boston, at an income of nearly eight thousand dollars, and his partner in slander, I believe, made the Post-Master, at an income of about five thousand. So stands your affairs, my Jackson friends, in New-York and Boston. And is it true that you have made all this stir—that you have permitted the office seekers to call you Jackson men, to class you Jackson stock; have you persecuted and proscribed your friends, broke up your old friendships, private and political, to place a Burr and a grocer into the receipts of the Customs of New-York and Boston? But is this all? Look to the whole sea-board, from Washington City to the St. Lawrence, where he has made one fell sweep of the Custom House officers. If one remain, I do not know whom it is, that voted against him. Well, Sir, I have already stated that Jackson was well apprised of the efforts making to supply the markets with smuggled goods, with the two fold object of profit and to break down our infant manufactures. I have given two instances of his changes of the collectors of Customs, and could give the like history almost in every change he has made, where he has removed the friends of Adams and put in his own; but time will not allow. You will, therefore, take as a fair sample, the Burr and the grocer. The next high officer, upon whose vigilance much depends to check frauds upon the revenue, is the Secretary of the Navy. With the

two thousand miles we have of sea board, and the great extent that many of our rivers are navigable, the greatest zeal should be manifested in the Navy to check smuggling; and this can only be displayed by the Secretary's keeping constantly employed, a sufficient number of revenue cutters to intercept the smugglers in passing from the land to the ships engaged in the smuggling trade. Experience as well as zeal, was also demanded, at the crisis of Jackson's forming his Cabinet. And how did this sincere friend to our infant manufactures and the tariff, secure this zeal and this experience? Did he select for the head of the Navy, a man friendly to the tariff or a man of experience? Neither, Sir. No one is, I presume, ignorant of the fact, that Mr. Branch belongs to the class of Southern politicians, the most violent against the tariff; a party that denounces it as both impolitic and unconstitutional; and that he, the said Secretary, is the most violent of the violent. How, you will then naturally ask, can a man like Mr. Branch serve a party that believes the law to be unconstitutional? How can he please that party and execute a law that he and his party declare to be unconstitutional? Sir, I answer, to let the smugglers smuggle; this will please his party and relieve his chief. South Carolina, Georgia and the other anti-tariff States, object to the tariff, that it makes British goods too high if the duty be paid. They consider the tax on cloths, on hemp and hemp bagging, as a tax on them. By smuggling they are relieved from the obnoxious tariff of 1827, and of all tariffs. Hence it is, Sir, that your hemp, that in the administration of Mr. Adams brought you six cents per pound, now brings you but three; and hence it is, that hemp bagging that brought twenty-five cents the square yard, now sells at eighteen cents the yard in southern markets. If this does not seal your lips, Sir, as to your only staple and the influence of General Jackson's administration upon the prospects of Kentucky, look to the fact that Boston alone has sent into the St. Petersburg and Riga trade this year, forty-three vessels. Had Mr. Adams been elected much of this capital would have been directed to the hemp and flax growing districts of America; and the growing, preparing and manufacture of these important staples, hemp and flax, would have had the aid of Yankee skill and Yankee capital. I am here called on for the proof, that smuggling is carried on to a greater extent than it was during the administration of Mr. Adams, or that it is carried on to any extent at all. Sir, will not the facts that our staple will not sell; that our manufacturers are now ruined, prove nothing? If not, will you take General Jackson's own statements, and that of his Secretary? Worse, Sir, take the testimony your own neighbors, your own eyes furnish. Some of you are merchants; I ask you what is your testimony? What is the testimony of every other merchant who have visited our seaports? Why, that the United States are literally inundated with British merchandizes—that there never has been such an influx of them

since 1817. The tariff of 1827 has full operation on the goods imported since President Jackson's new litter of revenue officers have been installed. That tariff, if fairly executed, will give a rise upon the revenue as collected in 1828, of from ten to fifteen per cent. and if the importation of 1829 have exceeded that of 1828, as they most obviously have, the customs would rise in equal proportion to the increased quantity imported. I have not before me the quarterly estimate of Mr. Rush, but I have the aggregate, of the revenue from President Jackson's Secretary, *Ingham*, for the year 1828, and that I know corresponds very nearly with the estimate of Mr. Rush. I have also Mr. Ingham's for 1829. Mr. Ingham states the entire revenue from Customs in the year 1828 at \$23,205,523 64. He states the revenue from Customs, for the three first quarters of the year 1829 at \$17,770,744 59; that the entire receipts for Customs from every source for the fourth quarter of the year 1829, will be \$5,165,000, take \$165,000 from the last estimate, for bank dividends, sale of public lands, &c. and they will exceed that sum, and how stands the entire receipt from the Customs for the year 1829? It will be \$22,770,744 59, which falls short of the revenue of 1828 \$434,778 05; a very good capital for a Boston grocer, and a sound price to pay for a Burrite. And this falling off of the revenue takes place at a time when the United States is deluged with British goods, and when a rise on the tariff ought to have made the revenue (if there were not more goods imported in 1829, than in 1828,) amount on the Customs to at least \$25,000,000. What, Mr. Speaker, has become of this revenue? The answer is, that these new officers have either defrauded the government themselves or permitted the smugglers to do it. Sir, what has been and must ever be the effect of this smuggling? The ruin of the regular and honest merchant and manufacturer; and that ruin is already visibly progressing. Our manufacturers are not in the situation of those of England who have been accumulating capital for generations; they have but just commenced operations, and many of them debtors to the banks for the capital that built their factories. In this situation they are compelled to sell as low as the smuggler let him sell as low as he will. Hence it is, Sir, that in New-York and Boston, these valuable and enterprising citizens are at this moment sacrificing their goods under the auction hammer. The regular merchant is also thrown in the shade or compelled to come to auction with his goods; so that although the manufacturer is the first victim, the second victim, the honest fair dealer, will soon follow him in the road to ruin. And this is the administration I am called upon to express my confidence in. Can I have confidence that President Jackson, now that he is elected, will protect the growth and manufacture of hemp in Kentucky, when he voted to strike off the whole duty on bagging and against the two and a quarter cents on foreign hemp, when he was canvassing for the Presidency? Can I believe

that he is sincere in his support of the tariff, when from the Secretary of the Navy down to the draymen employed in the revenue, they are obliged to bow to the party opposed to the tariff or lose their places? No, Sir, you that have faith may live by faith in this administration; for me and my constituents, we require something more substantial for our labor, than faith in the powers *that be*. While I am on the subject of this retrenching and economical administration, I can but notice another little fact. Mr. Adams, after paying \$12,163,438 07, and every other claim on the treasury in 1828, left in the treasury on the 1st day of January, 1829, \$5,972,435 81; whereas Jackson leaves in the treasury on the 1st day of January, 1830, only \$4,410,071 69, being \$1,562,454 12 less than Adams left in the treasury. Adams expended in the year 1828, \$25,485,313 90; whereas this retrenching President, *Jackson*, for the year 1829, expends \$26,164,594 10: that is, this money saving Jackson has expended in the year 1829, with his reforms and retrenchments, \$679,281 20 more than Adams did in the year 1828. This, Mr. Speaker, is a pretty good price, is it not, we pay for a money saving President? But this is not all, Sir; your President has spent, in the year 1829, \$1,562,364 12 more than the whole amount of revenue received in that year. Now, Sir, here is Secretary Ingham, letter and figure, for these statements; he is Jackson's Secretary; here it is, Sir, in your *own book*, *Mr. Speaker*, the said Secretary's report. Pray, Sir, ought not we who you have been promising so much retrenchment and reform, to have great confidence in your promises. But will you, Mr. Speaker, explain one thing to me? How could your President, with this report of his own Secretary lying before him, say to the American people as he has said, that the revenue had sustained itself under the tariff or under his administration, when that report showed a deficit of nearly five hundred thousand dollars; and when the expenses of his years administration had exceeded the whole receipts of every kind, including customs, bank stock and every species of revenue nearly one million six hundred thousand dollars. Sir, Adams, before the taxes were raised to what they are on foreign commerce, expended millions on Internal Improvements, and nearly built a seventy-four annually, to add to our proud navy; but your money saving Jackson has found out that it is unconstitutional to make roads and canals with the public money, and that it is too expensive to build seventy-fours. He advises in this message, so much lauded, that we save that expense. He has other uses for the revenue.

I will now, Sir, redeem my pledge to attend to this message before I resumed my seat. This message was, no doubt, written for effect, and I think I see very plainly, the finger of President makers and would be Presidents *in it*. The first people catching stroke is a proposition to amend the constitution by abolishing the electoral colleges, and instead of having an elective Federal President, to

substitute an elective monarchy. Dont startle, Mr. Speaker, at the word monarchy, for I will prove what I say before I am done. I say that the proposed change of President Jackson tends directly to consolidation and to monarchy, although he has guarded his project with restrictions and reserves in favor of small States. What is his object? Why that the people shall elect the President. Ah! but this startles the little States and breaks down the federative principle of government. But here he stops short and tells us that although the people ought to elect the President, yet that the weight of each man's vote shall depend on the spot where he votes, that is, that one vote in Rhode-Island or Delaware, shall be equal to twelve votes in the States of New-York or Pennsylvania. But I would like to know what he intends doing with the negro population; are they to vote or are the slave holding States to release their negro weight in this new government? And I would ask your grave counsel, what he intends to do with the Indians that he and the States of Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi have made citizens of the United States; are the Chicamogas, the Cherokees and Choctaws to vote man for man with us, or how is this settled? When his excellency and Missouri, or the State to be formed north west of Missouri, shall metamorphose the Sioux, Sacs, Foxes, Osages and Black feet tribes, with numerous others, into citizens of the United States, are they, man for man, to vote against the freemen of the old United States? Do you gravely think, Sir, that the Yankees will stand their ground in his new government, against his negro and Indian subjects? Do you believe that New-York and the old dominion will long submit to give twelve votes for one to the little States? No, Sir, if you dream that they will, you are greatly misled. All history proves that no military chieftain, with a majority at his heels, yielded the crown to a minority. He would have high authority, Sir; he would have John Rowan and the judge breaking Legislature of 1824, as authority to prove that minorities had no rights. Do you really think, Sir, that a military chieftain, that had spirit enough to subvert the powers of a sovereign State, and to expel and court-marshal the members of her Legislature, with six thousand soldiers at his heels, would be checked in his march to Washington with New-York at his back, by little Delaware? No, Sir, with the vote of New-York he would soon silence the petty States and take up his quarters in the palace. But your President has presented us with another amendment to the constitution, equally people catching. It is, that the constitution be so amended as to raise a fund to be annually divided out to the States. This part of his excellency's message has been penned, no doubt, with the two fold object of avoiding the clamor of the anti-improvement party and of deceiving the friends to Internal Improvements. In fine, it is for the President a device to avoid responsibility—to avoid the expenditure of the surplus funds of the treasury, for the benevolent and innocent pur-

pose of opening and regulating the commerce of the several States. Your President is contented to save you from the expense of building seventy-fours and of making national roads for national purposes. He has too much use for money to distribute among his retainers, who have led the van in this great victory over his now prostrate and powerless adversaries, *we the minority*. But, Sir, like all and each of his other schemes with the public funds, it is a buying up one. The President has learnt one truism, if no other, in politics; that is, that money is power—he has tried its influence upon men and found it efficacious. But its influence upon States will be indispensable to completely achieve all the other work his administration is cutting out for the American people. Was there ever a more evident and palpable overture made to a people, to sell their State Sovereignties, than this message holds out? What is it? Why that instead of the nation making its own roads for the purposes of war, the regulation of commerce between the States and the Post-Office department, that the national government shall subsidize the States to do it. That is, for the purposes of enabling the States to make, not national roads but State roads, and other State improvements, each State shall annually draw so much from the public treasury, to be appropriated to such purposes as the States may choose to denominate Internal Improvements; or, in other words, that the national government shall collect taxes from the people of the States, and then the States, after having their debits and credits settled with the national government, draw in proportion to their representative strength. One government is to raise the taxes and the other lay them out. What a sovereignty your State will have when this is her condition, Mr. Speaker? Instead of the people looking to and relying upon the State government for highways, bridges, court houses, canals and rail roads for State purposes, your President proposes that the Federal Constitution shall be so amended as to make both the people and the states dependent on the Federal Treasury for their entire system of Internal Improvements. Sir, you may tell me, I carry the President's amendment too far. Not at all, Sir. So amend your national Constitution, and I say it's effect will be to reduce the States to a lower condition than petty corporations; for your semi-corporations, your county towns keep the tax laying and tax gathering business and the paying out in their own hands. Ours are governments dependent upon public sentiment. What must be public sentiment, what the estimate of and concerning our State Sovereignties, when they meanly draw the monies with which they build even court houses, jails or churches, from the Federal Treasury? Can a State, in such an attitude, be said to be owner of her public buildnigs, much less of her high ways? He that pays, in equity, always owns, unless he pays for a pauper. And you, sir, and your President must intend by this measure to make the states paupers. or that they shall own nothing.

This house we set in is the property of the state, paid for by her with money raised by a tax on her citizens. It is her own and their exclusive property. Not an individual, however humble, that does not, when he views and admires its splendor and usefulness, feel that he, himself, is the owner of it, and proud that his state owns it. But suppose the money that erected it were sent us by Burr's aid-de-camp from New York, or the grocer of Boston, what would be his feelings? what would be your feelings, Senators, if you performed the farce of legislating in a house thus built? And yet, this is the condition marked out for sovereign States by President Jackson, in his proposed amendment to the constitution. Sir, I ask you if it will not be, as the gentleman from Nelson, Mr. Hardin, said, reducing the states to the attitude of allowanced slaves, who attend weekly from the quarter at the great house, for their peck of corn. The poor negroe raises the corn, but it is cribbed at masters and he must go to master's house for his allowance. The people of the states are to pay the money into the national treasury by their sweat. The dollar is raised as is the negroe's peck of corn; but the dollar is to be locked up in the Federal Treasury. If wanted for any State purpose it must be sent for. An other view, Sir. How contemptible will this new constitution of General Jackson's make the States? One of the States is a little refractory against the arbitrary measure of a President or his Cabinet, he can stop the pension as to such State, until she is cured of her contumaciousness; nay to bring her to terms he may give it to more loyal States. Sir may we not suppose it likely that whenever this pensioning or allowancing commences on the part of the General Government, that it will increase rather than diminish in its modes of appropriation? Recollect that the President proposes to amend the constitution so as to raise a fund to be divided among the states for purposes of internal improvement. The constitution thus amended becomes a fundamental law of the land, binding through all time. Well, some of the states want all their portions and more too, to make canals, bridges, roads, court houses, churches and penitentiaries. The older States do not want theirs for that purpose but want them for other purposes; they want it to relieve the people from State taxes. They find that double taxing and double officering is inconvenient. The new States must have their proportions; and what will be done with the States, that say, they wish to apply the money to the payment of governor, legislature and judges; what must then be done? Why, they must be gratified; and, take my word for it, the moment the State's pension list is made out, our State sovereignties vanish; and that from the governor to the constable your officers will depend upon the national treasury for their salaries. In popular governments like our States, it is the natural tendency of things, to avoid taxation directly upon the people. Look at Pennsylvania. She has shrunk from it, relying upon her sales of bank charters, and learns

until she has plunged herself millions in debt. Look at your own condition. As soon as the Bank of Kentucky gave you a dividend, so as to give you with the existing taxes a decent revenue, you struck off, at a single dash, half your taxes and threw the treasury upon the Bank dividends; and when that Bank failed, you fell upon the capital of the Commonwealth's Bank and on your vacant lands and your school funds; and though you are yearly sinking more and more in debt, you can not bring yourselves up to raise the taxes one cent. How convenient would it not be now Sir, if we had an allowance of four or five hundred thousand dollars annually from the federal treasury, for us to ease ourselves of all the noise raised against taxing the people, by using that fund as we now use the school fund, to pay ourselves with? And Sir, when we, when all the departments of the State, when, in fine, the highest and the lowest officers of the States shall depend on such a fund, we will be sovereign indeed, sovereign and independent of the people, but vassals to the national government. And Sir, this is the condition proposed for the States by this hero of state rights, Andrew Jackson. That individual was charged, during the canvass, with holding principles unfriendly to the constitution of the United States. This was denied by his friends and his attachment to it avowed by himself; and yet he comes out in his first message, complaining of the constitution and proposing radical changes in it; either of which would be equal to its annihilation.

Ought not, then, every man who loves the government, Washington and his compatriots formed for us, to withdraw all confidence in the professions of Jackson and withhold his faith in his administration? And yet we are called on to express our confidence in him that the great interests of the nation are entirely secure under his administration! Sir this measure of General Jackson does not come forth as the mere phantom of his own mind. It is most evidently a general movement of his party. It is the plan of Mr. Speaker, as I understand him—more sir; you see that the State of South Carolina, whose resolutions we are considering, has, simultaneously, or in echo to this message, instructed her representatives to use their influence to get the constitution so amended, as to enable congress to pension the States. Mr. Speaker is not fearful, no Sir, to use his own words, he is not afraid of Federal money; he would like to have it, but he is alarmed at the powers claimed for the Federal Government by myself and others. Sir, what are these powers that we contend for, that so alarms Mr. Speaker? why, that congress under the powers expressly granted to declare war, to establish post offices and post roads, to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States and the Indian tribes, may, for the purposes above enumerated and no other, make national roads, may build light houses, open navigable rivers and improve the bays and harbours necessary for commerce; that these improvements are

to be made only when the above specified powers are necessarily exerted; and this is what we mean, when we say, that congress has the power to make national roads for national purposes; and it is the exertion of this salutary power that alarms Mr. Speaker for state rights; when his nerves are too strong to be shocked by a distribution of a few hundred thousand only, and annually, to the State, of federal money raised by the federal government from the people.

General Jackson, in his message, denies the power of congress to make roads and canals, or to open rivers within the States, under any of the powers of congress specified, and so does the Speaker. Now, Mr. Speaker, let us consider what is to be the condition of this Union, if the power do not exist? You will perceive Sir, that the power to regulate commerce between the States and Indian Tribes is conferred in the same section and the precise words that the power to regulate commerce with foreign nations is granted in. There is no power granted to congress to open harbours erect buoys or to build light houses to enable them to regulate commerce with foreign nations. Yet all this is done without objection. But to carry on the intercourse or commerce between the States a national road is necessary and cant be dispensed with; and, strange to tell, that although the power to regulate commerce between the states is given as fully and in the same words that the power to regulate foreign commerce is, the general government has no right to make such improvement. The safe navigation of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, as well as the other great rivers of our confederacy, is necessary to the convenient regulation of commerce between the States. But according to General Jackson and Mr. Speaker, not a rock nor a snag can be removed by the national government. Suppose Tennessee should refuse to permit the people of Kentucky to drive their hogs, horses or mules over her bridges or along her public roads to Alabama, North-Carolina or Virginia. Her roads, her bridges are certainly her own; and over them she is sovereign. What in that case, I ask you, Mr. Speaker, becomes of the commerce between Kentucky and the states where Tennessee intervenes, if Congress do not possess the power, under the specified power to regulate commerce between the states, to open a national highway and make it free to the commerce of all the states? Sir, you have now before you a resolution from the other house, complaining that the states and villages on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers are injuring our commerce and trampling on our rights, under pretence of wharfage duties, and requiring our crafts to land and lie to, at particular spots, when our citizens are carrying on their lawful trade. What is your remedy here, Mr. Speaker? If you and your President be right, surely these towns and states, nay, individuals, have power to impose what tolls they please, for the use of their public improvements. Sir, Washington and Hamilton

were not asleep on this point when they formed this national compact. The remedy is with Congress, to build a wharf and designate in such case where the exchanges of labor may take place, free from such partial and sinister vexation; this done at national expense, becomes common to all the citizens of the United States. So, Sir, if a state shall shut up a great navigable stream, passing through several states as you are doing by throwing bridges across the Ohio, no one state can make the faulty state, at her own expense, abate the nuisance. But here interposes an incidental power to that of regulating commerce between the states, that can and will abate the obstruction. View these subjects, with many others connected with our intercourse with other states; and is it possible that any real friend to Kentucky will support a President, that in the face of the American people and the world, renounces these salutary, did I say salutary, these necessary and indispensable powers for the general government? without the due exercise of which, the states could not, in peace, carry on commerce with each other, more than they could under the old confederation; and as the treaty making power between the states is granted away, the union would prove a curse rather than a blessing. There is another view of this subject, to be sure a minor one, that should make Kentucky contend for the power. It is, that if Congress does not exercise the power, the interior states must be forever taxed to improve the extremes, without deriving the same benefits from the national resources. But the worthy member from Barren, as well as Mr. Speaker, is alarmed at the idea, lest Congress should keep their public roads in repair by gate tolls. I have already told the member from Barren that he was taxed to his shirt collar to support the federal government, and if you and him, Mr. Speaker, wish to be taxed higher than the shirt collar for the national treasury, in preference to laying the taxes upon those that use the public improvements of the nation, you can in this, for me, be gratified. One thing, Sir, you both ought to know, and that is, that both the money to make and repair those public works must be raised in some way from the people, and whether it is raised from a gentleman's carriage and four, that uses the road, or a gentleman's breast pinn that uses his looking glass, it must be raised; and when the road is made and not till then, will I debate with President Jackson or his friends here, how it shall be kept in repair. I will not detain the Senate to notice the message on the tariff, saving to make a passing remark, and that is, that the same duplicity and deception which that distinguished individual has ever shown in his public acts and canvassings about the tariff, is there perceivable. He tells us that it has neither done the good promised by its friends, nor the harm threatened by its enemies. Look at this, Sir, and see what equivocation! What is this but saying the tariff is neither good nor bad, neither one thing nor another? Why does he not tell why it is not good;

why and where it is not bad? Why does not he say it is not good because the smugglers have ruined the manufacturers; and why does he not say that it is not bad because the states most clamorous against it, have goods duty free through smuggling? The President should not shrink from his duty, and nothing is more to be reprehended than an attempt at evasion by so high a functionary; and yet you see how President Jackson strives, throughout this whole speech, to avoid responsibility. He will not say to South-Carolina and Louisiana, the tariff on hemp bagging is not too high, nor will he say to them remove the tax on molasses; nor will he say to little Rhode-Island the tariff on cotton and woolen cloths are too high; nor dare he say to Louisiana, take the tax off of sugar, or to Pennsylvania take it off of iron; but after hunting out something to say, after having said so much about the tariff and said nothing, he espies the two articles of tea and coffee; these articles he says have become almost necessities, and by way of people catching a little more, he advises the duties to be reduced on these articles, until the poor can have them as a common necessary; but he takes care again to say the duty must be reduced gradually. Now what patriot can think that while taxation on foreign commerce is necessary for the national government, that the two articles selected shall be exempted? They are luxuries, sheer luxuries, foreign luxuries; they form the beverage of the rich and monied of the nation. Yet, Sir, like his attacks upon the constitution, he moved into the subject with something for the good of the people. This is always the road to power. Sir, Buonaparte, Cæsar and Cromwell were all men of the people. But he wants the tax taken off of tea and coffee, that the poor may make it a necessary of life. Is this true? Does he wish the great body of the people of this nation to depend on the ships from Canton for a necessary of life? Are the mothers of the hardy sons and daughters of America to raise their children on foreign teas and coffee instead of milk and soups? Can it be, Sir, that your President and his advisers seriously think of this? But here the President drops the subject by recommending a revision of the tariff. I should like to inquire of the south and of the east, and of the west, what each section has; out of all this part of the speech. I think I read the President. I think he is opposed, deadly hostile to the tariff, but that he is afraid to say so, that he thinks that by advising a revision of it, that it will be repealed without his popularity falling in the tariff states. Indeed, Sir, take his whole speech together he puts me in mind of a gentleman I heard of in my county, that was very much pestered how to get the votes of the reliefs and anti-reliefs during our relief fever. He determined, therefore, to make to the people a speech, for a speech both sides demanded; and after he had spoken for several hours, descended from the stump and immediately walked his friend aside to know if he had said any thing, for said he, I am determined not to commit myself. The next sub-

ject which addresses itself to the consideration of the Senate, is that part of the message which relates to the aborigines, the unfortunate, once sovereigns of this land. From the first settlements in America to the election of General Jackson, those nations or tribes were treated as independent sovereign nations. At the close of the revolutionary war, peace was concluded with all the hostile tribes as formally as with other nations. Numerous are the treaties so formed with the nations of Indians, in which the faith of this nation is pledged to the Indians, to respect their sovereignty and rights. Some of these treaties bear the venerated name of the father of his country. All the Presidents, (Jackson excepted,) felt themselves bound by their sacred duty, to protect those nations of Indians that were within our limits against the oppression of both the states and the individuals of states. The right of any state or individual of any state, to contract with the Indians, was not only denied, but such contracts treated as mere nullities, until Jackson's administration. So far from the nation tolerating the absolute power of a state, over the life, liberty and prosperity of the Indians, no state was held to possess the power to purchase an acre of their soil. It often became the delicate duty of the executive of the nation to interfere between the encroaching and usurping acts of the states and the powerless Indians; but it was a duty that every President but Jackson had the virtue and courage to perform. Long did Mr. Adams interpose his paternal arm between the cupidity of the state of Georgia and the Creek nation. In this controversy a state, a powerful state, on whom President Adams depended for a re-election, was on one side and powerless Indians on the other. But justice and humanity was on the side of the Indians and that was enough for Adams; he did his duty. But no sooner was his rival installed than Georgia and Alabama passed laws declaring it highly penal for an Indian to act as a chief in his nation, and extending their laws, criminal and civil, over the Indians, and conferring the rights of citizenship to all the Indians within their respective bounds. I have not seen copies of those acts, but such I learn, is their import. Against these unwarranted acts of tyranny, against this usurpation in violation of the solemn mandates of the constitution of the United States, the Indians appealed to President Jackson to execute the treaties entered into between them and the United States, and to save them from annihilation as nations. Instead of executing those treaties and redeeming the pledges of the nation, your President told them that they must submit to their fates or quit their homes. The plea for this barbarism is more insulting and cruel, if possible, than the act itself. It was that these Indians had become measurably civilized, had adopted our modes and habits of agriculture and of government, and that the constitution of the United States prohibited them a separate government within a state. The plain English of this is, that the President tells the Indians, if

you were as destitute as beasts of prey, of government, and had not worshiped the same God that we worship, nor used the same implements of husbandry, you might have remained among the graves of your fathers; but as it is, your fates are hermetically sealed unless you migrate and forever quit your country; and if you resist this decree, your alters will be razed, your hearths smeared with the brains and drenched with the blood of your women and children, and your wigwams and council houses burnt to ashes. Who, Mr. Speaker, that reads the wrongs of the Indians of Mexico and Peru, that does not execrate the mercuries of Spanish cruelty? Who that doubts not the overruling providences of Almighty God, that believes his word, that does not see that God avenging upon those monsters in human shape, the cruelties practised upon the innocent though idolatrous worshipers of the sun? Yes, Sir, for centuries has Spain and Spaniards paid the forfeit of their crimes against the laws of humanity. That same bigotry that slaughtered millions of unoffending Indians, has brought millions of Spaniards to the stake, for religions sake. For her cruelty in the western hemisphere, God has permitted, has allotted her the inquisition, fire and faggots; and for centuries deluged her in tears and blood. And shall we, Sir, through a modern Cortes, call down upon our devoted heads the just vengeance of Heaven, for a crime as black as the blackest Cortes or Pizarro ever perpetrated? What was the Spanish plea, for the murder of the Indians and the seizure of their property? Why, that they were idolaters and spurned the Cross; that it was the high commands of Heaven itself to them, the true worshipers, to destroy infidels and divide their substance among the followers of the Saviour. This was the Spanish plea for denying to the Indians of the south the right of existence as nations. This was their justification before high Heaven and the world, for their outrages against humanity. What, I pray you, is General Jackson's plea for like outrages against the Indians of the north? Why, that Washington and other Presidents had sent to those Indians the messengers of the Saviour, to preach to them Christ and him crucified; to spread before them the bread of life; that they had sent among them school masters and agriculturalists, to teach them letters, science and the arts of husbandmen; that they have sent statesmen and philosophers to persuade the Indians to repeal their sanguinary laws, and to instruct them in the arts of peace and the science of government; that the Indians have accepted the Gospel, have erected churches in which they worship the same God that we worship; that where once they offered up human victims a sacrifice to their false Gods, is now heard the praises of the Redeemer sung; that the Gospel is turning savages into christians; and the plow, hunters and warriors into civilized husbandmen; and therefore, says President Jackson, you must migrate; we have taught you these things, you have learnt them from us, and therefore we punish

you with extinction or expulsion. Mr. Speaker, we have the power to do this—so had Spain; but there is a just God, more powerful than we. When we see the fate of Spain and compare her acts with our own, in his presence let us fear and tremble, lest in our seed, if not in our day and generation, our nation will be called to a dreadful retribution for this act of outrage against all the laws of humanity and the precepts of our holy religion.

Thus much for the act as it regards the Indians; how does the President's conduct quadrate with his professed regard for the constitution of the United States in this matter? By the constitution, the power to declare war, to make peace, and the right to grant naturalization, or to make those citizens who were not born so, is exclusively ceded to Congress. And by the 2nd section of the 10th article of the constitution, it is provided that no State shall enter into any agreement with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, &c. By the 3rd section of the 7th article, it is provided that Congress shall regulate commerce among the several Indian tribes. In the 2nd section of the 4th article, it is provided that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States. If Congress alone possess the power to prescribe the laws for naturalization; if this is a fundamental law of this nation; if no State is allowed to make a single citizen, I would enquire of President Jackson, by what authority does he and the States of Georgia and Alabama make naturalized citizens of all the Creeks, Seminoles, Cherokees and Choctaw Indians? Sir, these Indians become, you find, from the constitution, the moment they are citizens of these States, entitled to all the privileges of other citizens in every State in this Union. And has this President conceded the power to a State to incorporate by law, and enforce that law at the point of the bayonet, myriads of Indians, and to confer on them all the privileges of American citizens? These States I am told, have actually directed the census of their Indians to be taken, and are now engaged in doing so to meet the next ratio of representation. So that unless Jackson is checked by Congress, the whole Indians within the Southern States are to be represented in Congress. When this is done, when one hundred thousand Indian souls have their members in Congress from Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Tennessee, will he stop there? No, Sir, Missouri, or the States to be formed north west of her, can bring their half a million of souls, Osages and Black feet Indians; and Indiana and Illinois, their hundred thousands of Puans, Sac's Foxes, Pottawatemies and Peankshaws to legislate for us. Do not feel alarmed, Sir. All this is so. It is avowed by your President, it is intended by him and those States, to add them to the federal strength or to drive them from their homes. I know you will answer, Jackson only intends to break up the Indian tribes, to rob them of their lands for the benefit of those States.

But, Sir, the language of Jackson, is, to the Indians, leave your homes or submit. His message is, that the States have the right, and that the States will make them parts of the States or drive them away. If you do the one sir, I say you sin against all the laws of humanity; and, if you do the other you destroy the union of the States, and prostrate the constitution; from this dilemma you can never escape. I will, however, said Mr. Wickliffe, pass to another part of this message, as it has a remote bearing upon all the other disorganizing principles attempted to be noticed heretofore. It is that part of it which relates to the Bank of the United States. He tells Congress that "both the constitutionality and expediency of the law creating the Bank, are well questioned by a large portion of our fellow-citizens; and that it must be admitted by all, that it has failed in the great end of establishing *an uniform* and sound currency." Under these circumstances he recommends a bank founded upon the credit of the government and its revenue alone. That is, Mr. Speaker, the President means to open a great national *loan office* for the benefit of his friends. Upon the same principles that we provided by our Commonwealth's Bank for our friends in 1820. How President Jackson could, in the face of facts, before the assembled representatives of the nation, say "it must be admitted by all that the Bank of the United States had failed to give an uniform and sound currency to the nation," I leave for those better skilled in the human heart, than I am, to explain. When that Bank went into operation, the whole nation South of the North river, was cursed with spurious banks and base paper money. Your treasury was without a dollar, with the weight of one hundred millions of debt upon it. A dollar in Kentucky was not worth more than forty-eight cents of a dollar in Massachusetts. Exchange between the different points of the continent, varied from two to fifty per cent, and perhaps more; whereas it now varies only from a quarter to one per cent. And except a few rags, the dregs of your Commonwealth's Bank, and some of those of Tennessee and Illinois, there is scarcely a paper dollar in circulation not equal to gold or silver. The national debt is pared down to a trifle, and every possible facility is given by this Bank, to the transmission of the money of the government from one point to another; and yet your President says it must be admitted by all, that it has failed in the great end of giving us a sound and uniform currency; and this statement is made in the face of facts known to all! Respect to the office of President, forbids me to make further comment on it. I beg, however, leave to pay some few passing remarks upon his great loan office scheme. His plan is, that the American people open an office, and that the government loan out her credit, and take bonds bearing interest from the borrowers. It is in fact your Commonwealth's Bank up and down, and offers all the inducement to speculation and to the cupidity of money shavers and bank swindlers, that your Commonwealth's Bank did; but upon a

much larger scale. Although your bank schemers were met by the people in one year, and finally overthrown in three years: yet it overthrew the government before its influence was checked, and kept the Court of Appeals for five years struggling for its existence. By your bank, you only made about twenty thousand debtors interested in overturning the government; but if you had been suffered, unchecked for ten years, to run on with your loan office, you would have secured a dead majority of the voters of the State, ready to destroy, not only your courts of justice, but to raze every vestage of the government. And, sir, how long will it take Jackson and his ministry, to place five hundred thousand President and Congress makers of this Union, ready to rub out and begin again? Sir, not makers of Congress men and Presidents alone; but Presidents and Congress men too, will dip deep into this loan office scheme. And is it likely that when these debtors are law makers—when they have the power to cancel their own debts, that they will hesitate to do so? Mr. Speaker, it requires no foresight to see what Jackson and his partizans mean by this loan office. Money is power. This office is to strengthen the Executive arm, to make its influence irresistible, with the power of loaning and managing a capital of one hundred millions. What President and his cabinet can be withstood by the honest part of the community? Nothing but revolution can and will check any administration with such an engine of power, as a national bank or loan office, with its branches and officers; nor is it difficult to perceive how nearly allied in mischief, is this project, with those others recommended in this message, in relation to the election of President and the naturalization of the Indians. A national debt is said by some to be a national blessing, because every creditor of the government is interested in supporting it. Not so where the government is the creditor. There all the passions of the human heart are changed from support to destruction. In the one case, the creditor, by upholding the government, secures his claims upon it; in the other case, the debtors to the government, by destroying it, cancel their debts. Suppose the thousand millions of debt due by the government of Great Britain to her subjects, were due from a majority of those subjects to the government itself, could the government stand one year? No, Sir, it would shift hands in a day, if the Cataline who headed the revolution, would only propose to the debtors to cancel their debts. Sir, look to another part of this message, and see how the President treats debtors to the public treasury, who are President makers? Does he not recommend to Congress to cancel their debts. How was it when Congress was unwise enough to sell public lands on a credit? They tried this only a few years, when we find these very debtors in Congress canceling their own debts. With five hundred thousand debtors, with all Gen. Jackson's Choctaw, Creek, Sionx, Sacs Foxes, Pottawatemics and Puan citizens; what fine materials may not some future Aa-

ron Burr, or some of his surviving followers, tired of the dull pursuit of private life, have to overturn this constitution which President Jackson finds such fault with? Such a candidate for the office of President, with all these newly Jacksonized citizens, will not stop to count the votes of little Delaware and Rhode-Island; nor will he be balked in his ambition, by an odious house of representatives, voting by such puny things as sovereign States. Do not suppose, sir, that these are the mere chimera of a heated brain. They follow that message, just as certainly as effect follows cause. Only let the people act out that message, and I will answer that General Jackson or some such mighty hero, will write a constitution with the point of his sword. Do you believe sir, that the Yankee will consent to stake his vote against Jackson's Indians, as well as the South Carolina negro? No. This second pull will be too strong for Jonathan. He will either do as his fathers did, emigrate, or defend his liberties. No other choice will be left him; and the friends of the present confederacy, unless Congress check the President and his ministers in their schemes for turning Indians into President makers, and opening upon the nation their loan office. Of this I will not despair. Although Jackson has done much injury, and will yet do much, I trust the people will throw into Congress such men as will check him and save the constitution.

Mr. Speaker, I will pass to some minor considerations of this message, leaving to the advocates of General Jackson, here and elsewhere, to examine impartially his amendments to the constitution, his loan office, and his citizen Indians. Sir, I have charged General Jackson with being secretly unfriendly to the tariff and domestic manufactures. I have endeavored to prove that he is so, from facts that I think conclusive; but if all other facts fail, who can doubt it after this untimely attack upon the Bank of the United States? The manufacturers, it is known, have scarce a hope or a staff to lean upon, except this bank, against the oppressions they are suffering from the evasions of the tariff by smuggling. The accommodations at this Bank enable them or some of them, to partially bear up against the powerful competition from the British weavers. Many of them are not only dependant upon the banks for loans to keep up their stock on hand of the raw materials, but to pay the daily wages of their hands, until a more faithful execution of the tariff, will enable them to again bring their manufactures into market. In this situation of the manufacturing interests, six years before the charter expires, the President sounds the alarm to the directors of the bank and its stockholders, by assuring them that their charter will not be renewed—assuring them of his hostility to it, and determination to substitute it, with a loan office. What is this sir, but driving the bank into calls upon its debtors and refusals to contract new loans? And what will such a course on the part of the bank do, but complete, for President Jackson, the ruin that he and his cab-

inet have begun among the manufacturing interests. Sir, after this stroke of President Jackson at the manufacturers, it was unnecessary for him to eulogize the magnanimity of Great Britain in war and in peace, as he has done in this message, to obtain the plaudits of the British presses—he is sure of them; they understand this measure, if the American people do not. To them it is life, to the American manufacturer it is death. Nor, sir, will Kentucky escape altogether. We have no bank to which our manufacturers, our drovers, or exporters of our produce can apply, but that of the United States. Fall and spring, the officers of that bank have loaned liberally to those who apply for money for these purposes. Jackson knew this. He knows and cares not that we are to suffer, and severely too, by this threat of his, in all our surplus products and manufactures.

Mr. Speaker, I have charged President Jackson upon the face of his message, and from his Secretaries report, with a profligacy and profusion of the public treasure, for his friends and favorites, beyond all example in our government; and I have charged him with breathing a spirit of vindictiveness, unworthy the Chief Magistrate of a nation. If I have not sustained these charges by the facts I have referred to, I pray you to allow me to call your attention to one or two more passages in his message. According to an estimate I have seen, and which I deem correct, President Jackson and his cabinet have removed, in all, more than five hundred fiscal officers, to make way for his friends. He has caused the most rigorous search for accusations to be made, and of this whole number, he has been able to fix a delinquency but upon two of them, Tobias Watkins and Joseph Nourse. Of Watkins' delinquency, there is clear proof, and nothing can justify it. Of Nourse's, his books showed it. His honesty could not be questioned, even by Ingham himself, who acknowledged that the true state of Nourse's accounts, as distributor of a contingent fund, appeared from his books. Nourse was Register under General Washington, had been longer in office perhaps than any man in the United States; and ever possessed the fairest character for integrity and industry as an officer: a man of such inoffensive manners and benevolence of heart, that in all the violence of Democrats and Federalists, he enjoyed the confidence of both parties; but Congress it seems, threw upon him a new duty, and one of great labour and hazard—that is, to distribute a contingent fund, without annexing any addition to his salary. This old tried and faithful public servant, performed its duties, as he declares, with great losses in the exchanges and payments he made, not doubting that he would be allowed what the heads of the treasury had allowed to every officer that served and paid out public funds. But in order to make Nourse a delinquent, it seems Ingham refused to allow him any thing, and wanting his office for one of his creatures, he removed him, and, in the true Turkish spirit, the son of

Mr. Nourse, who had not handled a dollar, and of course did not owe one, was removed from his office also, for the same unworthy and unhallowed purpose of paying off the Swiss guards of the President. Now, Mr. Speaker, is it not a most remarkable fact, that out of five hundred fiscal officers employed by Mr. Adams, that there has been found but one guilty delinquent, and one made delinquent as I have shewn? Did the like ever happen before, and is it not a fact, highly creditable to the moral worth of Mr. Adams' official corps? I will not, Mr. Speaker, ascribe to Mr. Adams alone, the credit of this state of soundness in the monied concerns of the country. The credit is mainly due to the two excellent officers, Crawford and M'Lean. The rules they adopted, the one for the Treasury and the other as head of the Post Office Department, had expelled from each department, almost every unsound member. Never did a President enter upon office, with a Treasury and Post Office in such condition and administered by such officers. And if he had asked some man as wise as Talleyrand, (as *Louis le desired*—did that arch statesman, what changes he should make, replied, to change nothing, Buonaparte had left but the sheets upon the beds;) he would have been told, do as Adams did, change nothing; and like him you will make the nation happy. But the prosperity of the nation was not the darling of his heart; that darling was to reward his friends and punish his enemies. Many of these officers who have been reformed out of office, for these Norman conquerors, have served the nation from youth to old age; and the experience of all governments prove that the longer a delinquent is in office the greater the delinquency. Watkins was a new man, and not a receiver or payer of money. His crime was not for not paying over money, but in drawing money in assumed names, and by fraudulent drafts, which he applied to his own use; but both his defalcation and Nourses, as the Jackson prints have it, fall short of twenty thousand dollars.

Now, Sir, after all the hue and cry; after the removal of five hundred officers, they have saddled delinquency but upon two men, and their delinquency, both together, is less than twenty thousand dollars. Suppose the gate, Sir, should be suddenly shut down upon this new batch of officers of the heroes; do you suppose, Sir, that a half a million would cover their delinquencies? If you do, you are greatly mistaken, Sir. I think, Sir, you would be likely to catch both his Burrite and his grocer, for ten times the delinquency of Nourse and Watkins both together. But to cover these shameful removals and sacrifices, the President states that he has discovered numerous frauds upon the treasury—complains of the leniency of the court, and very strongly insinuates against the integrity of the judges who tried his victim, Watkins, because they were less severe than the delinquent merited. It is most obvious that the President intended, by this message, to impress upon the ignorant reader of

his message, and he well knew that there would be many such, that those frauds which he calls numerous, applied to numerous individuals, when he knew that the veriest vampire he had, had never imputed fraud to any unfortunate victim of his power, except Watkins. But this message was to pass in myriads at public expense, and to make its impressions upon the public mind. And thus the President deals in generals and indefinite numerous'. This part of his excellency's message, however, is levelled at his enemies: here he breathes revenge; here he magnifies a single case into numerous cases; here he calls down vengeance on the incarcerated, suffering Watkins and the judges, because his sufferings are not more complicated and severe. I am not the apologist of Watkins; he is guilty of fraud and justly punished; but while I am not his apologist, I can but dispise the meanness of the heart that breathes a triumph in the fall, or magnifies the crime.

Let us now see how President Jackson calls upon Congress to treat his friends and supporters, his guilty friends. We have seen what he recommends for his enemies; for them he has no bowels of compassion. But how does it happen that his indignation so soon vanishes against the public delinquent, when he recommends an amendment of the act of Congress, so as to enable him, as President, to discharge the public debtor from his debt altogether? Here he says, some more liberal policy than that which now prevails in reference to this unfortunate class of citizens, is *certainly* due to them. Sir, were I to enumerate all the known delinquents among his loudest and ablest supporters, who owe hundreds of thousands for public money used, their bare names would be a commentary upon this part of the message. Did any man ever use public money with intent to use it, to the amount of one hundred thousand dollars, intend less than Watkins did, to cheat, to swindle the government, and yet, while he is not satisfied with the ruin of this man's family, his atoning in close jail for his offences, while poor old Nourse's whole estate is sequestrated by Secretary Ingham's warrant, and his just and fair claims to set off's rejected, the President is all compassion for a certain class of debtors. He calls them, this class of unfortunates. Who compose this class? Ah, there is the rub; they are numerous and to a man, as far as I know or believe, they are General Jackson's fast friends. I could name several, Sir, but I will call to your mind one only, one too notorious for the mention of his name to be considered indelicate here, or an abuse of my privileges; it is the President's dear friend, his right hand man, no other than the honorable Edward Livingston, now a Senator of the United States, and one of the honorables for whom the message was formed. Mr. Livingston was long the district attorney of the state of New-York, and in that capacity or otherwise, used the public money to the amount of one hundred and three thousand dollars; at least such the public prints state to be the unsatisfied judgment of the United

States against him. Mr. Livingston is not, like Watkins, in jail, nor is his property under sequestration like that of poor old Nourse. But President Jackson's bowels of compassion are moved towards the unfortunate class of which Mr. Livingston is an honorable member, and he breaks forth upon Congress, and in the most plaintive strains, supplicates the release of this unfortunate class. A twin sister to this recommendation of the President, is the closing of his address, in which he, with like pathos, calls upon Congress not to forget the just claims of the representatives of Commodore Decatur, &c. He modestly, to be sure, tells Congress that in recommending this claim, he is guilty of a departure from general rules, yet still he must press this claim upon them. Why must he do so? Does he tell us how he knew any thing of it that all the Presidents before him did not know? Does he know any thing of it that each and every member of Congress and every man in the nation does not know, that has either read a newspaper or the history of his country? No. Does it belong to him, the head of the retrenching phalanx to urge on or whet the appetite of Congress to vote away the public treasury? or is he of opinion that the constitution needs amendment, in the article, which gives to the Congress of the United States, the power of taxing and appropriating of the taxes? Does he think that it would be better, (during his administration at least) for the President to judge of claims on the treasury? What is this claim or rather no claim which some of the *sly ones* have raised up for Mrs. Decatur? Why, that more than thirty years since, Commodore Decatur, with some other gallant young Americans, headed a party of mariners, and set the public ship, Philadelphia, then aground under the fire of the batteries of Tripoli, on fire and burnt her to the waters edge. For this act of gallantry Decatur was honored and promoted, (as I believe;) others were, also; but no man then thought our gallant tars were mere mercenaries, that in addition to the regular pay, for every act of fighting or bravery, they were to receive a reward in money. In those old fashioned times it was thought that the bargain between the soldier and the government was, that he, the soldier, should get his regular pay, and for that and the honor of being a soldier, he was to fight his country's battles. But, Sir, since, to use Major Noah's language, we have a chief whose mind is entirely military, we are not discharged of the claims of the military, when we pay and honor them too; nor will our gratitude be accepted in addition to their pay; but we must pack the labor of the country to pay our soldiers and sailors when they don't fight; and if any young, gallant officer, after receiving his regular pay, or an old one after receiving pay for his own house rent, and pay for burning his own fire wood, on his own fire—after living on his farm a considerable part of the time, shall have drawn from the treasury upwards of forty thousand dollars, for a few brief years service, for all and every act of valor displayed in the face of the enemy, the people

are still debtors unto them and their posterity, and for which the treasury is responsible. What a reflection upon great Washington, the elder Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and John Q. Adams; that they have let such claims sleep or wake as Congress pleased; for I think Congress was Amy Dardened thirty-six years in all, for some such claim, without either of their notice; when our present Chief Magistrate, whose mind, (as his port surveyor says,) is so entirely military that he cant let slip the opportunity of pressing Congress to raise from the grave, this claim for the representatives of Decatur; or rather to raise one for them, although nearly a half century has passed since the service was performed; and when Decatur and perhaps all then connected with him and his compeers in arms have passed to the grave. Sir, pardon me if I attempt to unfold the hidden mistery of this strange departure of President Jackson, from the conduct of other Presidents, and, as I verily believe; in defiance of the constitution, in thus meddling with the business and duties of Congress. I have said, Sir, that President Jackson, like every other military chief who thinks he has made a conquest, deems it a primary duty to reward his friends and punish his enemies. That he considered the people his servants and their money his own. As well as I recollect, I saw a letter or certificate, I do not recollect which, going the rounds of the papers friendly to the President, during his canvass, signed, Susan Decatur, complimenting the President and declaring that she heard her husband speak in high terms of eulogy of President Jackson. I speak from memory, Sir, and may err in detail as to this paper; I think I did not read it through, but threw the paper containing it from me, from a deep sense of the degraded condition into which the press had sunk! with the canvass for a Presidency, when the letters and certificates of ladies were foisted into news papers for the purpose of aiding in the canvass. I speak doubting, but I think the paper was addressed to General Jackson himself. Do not, Mr. Speaker, understand me as meaning to insinuate aught against the widow of the gallant Commodore; she might well write to General Jackson; but who, Sir, is responsible for the publication of what she did write; surely General Jackson or the person to whom she did write. Sir, in days of the ancient republics, military chiefs were compelled to reward acts of kindness like these, out of their own funds. The great Pompey and others, spent millions in shows, largesses and rewards; but our military chief has another mean; he confers offices, and when that source fails, he recommends his friends to the treasury. I have thought it due, Mr. Speaker, to say thus much of your retrenching President.

I beg leave now, Sir, to notice the interrogatory put to me by Mr. Speaker, that is, whether I was not in favor of General Jackson in 1824, and why I have changed? Sir, I do not know that I ought to make Mr. Speaker or another, my father confessor, and

under this supposition I have treated, heretofore, all such inquiries with neglect at least. But I will now say, Mr. Speaker, that there is no truth in the story, that at any time of my life I was in favor of making General Jackson President. The contrary is the fact, and that everyone knows, that knows any thing of my opinions of that individual. In the famous session of 1824, I not only voted to lay the resolution, relating to him, on the table until the first of June, but then gave my reasons why we should leave the choice to Congress. I then expressed my disapprobation of General Jackson, and my fears that he would put his friends, indiscriminately, upon the treasury, and pursue his enemies with revengeful feelings; I admitted that he had claims upon the nation as a military man, for then I was ignorant of most of his arbitrary and tyrannical acts, which have been brought to light and established beyond the possibility of doubt. I was opposed to Mr. Adams, and therefore as I saw Congress would have to decide between Jackson and Adams, I was desirous to avoid voting on the question. The resolution only stated that Jackson was, in the opinion of the Legislature, the second choice of the people of this state. Of this I had no doubt, for both Mr. Adams and Crawford had then but few friends in Kentucky. Crawford was my choice, but I saw no chance for his election. I was overruled in the motion to postpone the resolution, but my vote and speech were enough to prove to my constituents that I was not for Jackson; and when called upon, when forced to vote by the house what I thought was the wish of the people of the state, I felt myself bound to say that Jackson was their second choice. Of the correctness of my vote then I had no doubt, but the deceptions that have been practised in consequence of the resolution passing, has, I admit, induced in me, sincere regret, that I had not refused to vote even that I believed the people preferred Jackson as a second choice. Thus much, Sir, in explanation and denial that I ever was in favor of General Jackson's election. I am free to confess, informed as I then was, I should have taken Jackson rather than Adams, as the lesser evil; but I said then, I wished information that I had not; that my mind was made up against both Adams and Jackson, if another could be elected. Sir, I was then ignorant of parts of General Jackson's history. Never, Sir, until 1827, had I heard of his usurping the government of Louisiana; of his expulsion of her Legislature, and of his attempt to have condemned and executed, under a law proclaimed and made by himself, called martial law, a member of the Legislature of Louisiana, and that when his military court acquitted, had ordered them to try the member again; until 1826 I had never heard of the bloody and cruel sacrifice of John Wood and the six other militiamen; until 1828 I had never seen General Jackson's answer published, admitting that he had distributed money for building boats, &c. for Aaron Burr; until after 1824 he had not written his famous appeal to Swartwort, *Burr's aid*; nor until 1825

had the combination been formed to put down the administration of Mr. Adams, right or wrong, and to elevate General Jackson. Among these combinatorers I admit, I saw some good, some great men; but I saw that it was, on the whole, a combination of office hunters and office seekers, who had selected Jackson to answer their purpose. Might I not then, Mr. Speaker, fairly doubt what course to take in 1824, between Adams and Jackson, and have no difficulty in 1825. And Sir, notwithstanding Mr. Adams went into office against my wishes, still I felt bound to judge of his administration with candour, and I have, I hope, done so. Throughout his whole course I saw nothing to censure him for. He administered the government like a statesman. He disdained to be the executioner of his own passions, or to degrade his high office to the mean business of punishments and rewards; and although the combination waxed stronger and stronger, until they constituted a majority of both houses of Congress, to the last moment of his administration he kept the vessel of state in good trim, and closed his administration with a dignity that shed a lustre on both his talents and temper. Having for four years, in spite of the most illiberal and cruel treatment that any chief magistrate ever endured, conferred happiness, wealth and honor upon the American people. Viewing the chief magistrate of my nation thus assailed, I should have been false to those impulses of nature—to those American feelings I have ever cherished, if I had not yielded to him my feeble support. Would to Heaven President Jackson had given me the same reasons to support his administration; not that that support would have been of any value to him, or to any but myself, but he should have had it, and that most willingly. Of him I have had nothing to ask. To me, Sir, it is indifferent who is President, so my country prospers; and I repeat that never did a man enter upon an office with a fairer opportunity to make a whole people happy, than Jackson did. But, Sir, when I see the purposes to which he employs his power and distributes the funds of the nation, I confess my mind sickens at the prospect before me. To what a condition has he reduced all the social circles of life, by the rewards which he bestows upon the libellers and evesdroppers that are continually crowding fuel into his bosom, already burning with malice against all those who opposed his election. His whole system of administration is predicated upon the plan of bribing one part of the community into a disciplined corps, to cover and trample upon the other. The presses every where polluted with the vilest slanders, are the chief means of reaching the executive favor; and if a man has been a famous libeller, has invented some new slander on Adams or Clay, he needs no other qualification for an office; he is then fit for a Fourth Auditor or a minister to Colombia. Mr. Speaker told us the other day, that he, President Jackson, was well qualified for the high office he filled; that the people had, in a voice of thunder, proclaimed him well qualified;

that whatever was military or civil in the circle of duty, was performed by him in a masterly manner. This, Mr. Speaker, was the second version of Major Noah's encomium upon the President. It seems that some wise heads, the President among them of course, some time last summer, thought that it would look mighty pretty if we were to send out a few seventy-fours, to show them to the nations of Europe, so that the very sight of them might alarm them into profound respect for our great military hero; and in order to prepare the public mind to take with this piece of peageantry, the Major broke the subject by saying that our chief magistrate's mind was so entirely military, he let nothing escape him, &c. Mr. Speaker left out, "entirely military," but says he attends to every thing; with the care of a statesman, I suppose, Mr. Speaker, I may add.

It is, Sir, both a subject of mortification and amusement, to see to what a pitch these compliments are bringing the President. In imitation of the visits of George the IV, of Napoleon, of Frederick the great, and Alexander, the Russian, to their military depots, they send him upon military trips. Last summer they started him from the Navy Yard on a great military review, under the thunder of Cannon; yes, Sir, every thing in relation to Jackson is in a voice of thunder; you know the people speak now in a voice of thunder for Jackson; well Sir, he goes thundering with a host of great military chieftains, Secretary Branch and Post-Master Barry in the bargain; a public ship at public expense is put in requisition, down they pass Mount-Vernon, and another thundering of Cannon; they reach Norfolk, and more loud thundering of Cannon; the party frolic and drink and eat at public expense, until society drives them back under more thunders of Cannon. And what was all this for, Mr. Speaker? Why, Duff Green says, the President wanted to see Castle Calhoun. How, Mr. Speaker! Stone masons, peck stones, like one of those that are at work this moment in our yard! But he came back, and his cabinet sent him off again to Old Point Comfort, under another thunder of Cannon. General Green had to invent some more business for President Jackson at Norfolk a second time; and Sir, what was it? To regain his health, that is, he went to Nortolk, that land of fever, in the dog days, for his health. They send him to see Carrol of Carrolton, and here we have, in the Court Gazette, a diary and a minute account how every one sat, looked, eat his victuals or drank his wine. Next they send this entirely military chief magistrate, to see the Delaware break-water. Now, Mr. Speaker, tell me, do you know what a break-water is? Upon my soul I do not. In soberness and truth Sir, do you think this break-water is a part of President Jackson's military establishment, and that as such he ought to spend his time and the public money in looking at it? But, Sir, times are greatly changed since this military chief has come into power. Poor Adams could scarcely

allow time from the pressure of his duties, to fly to see a dying father, in a common stage. No Cannon thundered when he left the City. No seventy-fours carried his person; he paid his own stage hire. But, Sir, your President Jackson moves in public vessels in princely style, surrounded by all the lords of his treasury in attendance—and this at public expense, too. And even your Secretary Branch, who is *thinking*, while the British are smuggling, must have an armed ship to take his thoughtful personage to New-York, to add dignity, (as Major Noah says,) to the departure of our foreign ministers. Mr. Speaker, this is the way in which this one million five hundred thousand dollars *has escaped from the treasury*, more than has come into it this year. This is your retrenchment of expenses, Sir. President Adams, after laboring from dawn till night and turning night into day, was barely able to perform the duties of President; while President Jackson, having formed an inquisition called a cabinet, seems to have nothing to do; indeed, seems at a loss how to kill time. And now, Mr. Speaker, after Jackson's friends have sent us these Carolina resolutions to digest, you call upon us to not only vote that Congress has no power to expend a dollar in our state to make roads or canals, for national purposes, but to express our entire confidence in the administration of President Jackson. In this effort you put me in mind of some cruel pedagogues, who, after whipping the children, force them to kiss the rod. Has not President Jackson proscribed all and each of us, in our persons and our seed, as far as depends upon his will and wish? Have we, that voted against him, any more hopes of office or favor, than our free negroes have? Indeed, if we believe the symptoms at West-Point, his cabinet is basely slandering even our infant and unoffending sons, by dismissing them under pretences feigned and false, to make way for the sons of Jackson men. Sir, I do not mean to reflect upon the great body of General Jackson's friends, many I know, are highly honorable men. But, Sir, take them as a whole, do they possess all the wisdom and patriotism of this state? Do you think they possess more moral worth than those who voted for Mr. Adams? You answer no. And what a wretched tyranny is it that proscribes one half of the talents, patriotism and moral worth of the nation, to the revenge of selfish and malignant passions. Jackson's tyranny is still more malignant and selfish; it even excludes the meritorious of his own friends. A few days since I met with a sensible Yankee, who, speaking of Jackson's cruelties in new England, on the hopes and prospects of families, without the slightest causes whatever, except to provide for his favorites, exclaimed, "he treats you better here, I suppose; but with us, said he, if he gave us the respectable of his party we would be better off, yet, I vow, says he, he gives us nothing but the scrapings." I confess, Sir, I am like the Yankee; I could feel better satisfied if he had given us the clever fellows of your party, for our lords and masters; I could with better

stomach, perform my daily task under such, than I do. But, Mr. Speaker, I pray you, take a survey of his appointments to office in Kentucky. I know the history and so do you, of most of the fortunate ticket holders in the Jackson lottery. You know, Sir, that they were the mere jotsam and flotsam of all parties, ridge poll fellows, that were snuffing for popular gales—some times federalists, some times democrats; some times relief, some times anti-relief; but so far as I know or believe, not one of his whole appointments was ever Jackson's friend until the combination was fairly formed, and the fifty thousand dollar fund was raised, to make him President. How many of his Kentucky appointees, up to 1825, were ready at all times to lick the dust from Clay's feet? Jackson had many fast friends, those that supported him from gratitude and principle. But, Sir, not one such, to my knowledge, has received an appointment. The reason why such of his friends have been passed over, while his fence and ridge poll retainers and followers have been liberally rewarded, is an obvious one; the General's cabinet understand that these fellows want money, and if they dont get it they will quit him, but his men of principle will be true to their principles; and hence it is, that he has slighted the claims of his best friends and preferred the very sag ends of his party *here* and elsewhere. There are, to be sure, degrees among them, but some of them you know, and all who hear me know, not only disgraces his administration, but are a disgrace to their species. When the administration thus selects and makes its appointments, what faith or confidence can any Jackson man but an office seeker, conscious that he does not deserve the office he seeks, have in it? Sir, an administration that calls forth the worst principles of our nature, proscription, persecution, punishments and rewards, can but use such instruments as he employs. I pray you, Mr. Speaker, and my Jackson friends, who are such from principle, look to the immoral influences which this administration must have on the nation; of the five hundred new appointments, nearly one half are scurrilous dirty *printers*, who possessed neither merit nor talents, beyond a capacity to abuse and vilify. This is encouragement to others to supply the vacancy or vacuums created by withdrawing these libellers from their occupations; nay, Sir, to call into existence a new host of such gentry as feed upon and devour character. Of what avail but to deceive and mislead, can the press be, when the whole patronage of the administration is used to corrupt it. In your own state scarce a being, however contemptible or infamous, of this tribe of libellers, but has been rewarded in some shape or other. I will pass over the small fry, but must call your attention to a fact as it regards the rewarding printers, that demands your serious attention and a little of that of the people. It is that of Kendall. This individual, residing out of the state, claims to be your public printer, and you have or will pay him as such, against the 7th article of your consti-

tution. Worse too Sir, Blair, your President of the Bank of the Commonwealth, is either a partner of Kendall or his pensioned editor, and perhaps both; so that here is already a press, backed by both the treasuries of the state and nation, and the Commonwealth's Bank in the bargain, in its abuse of the public ear, and in its general diffusion of falsehood. Mr. Penn was too snugly situated at Louisville to be removed, but the powers that be, knew too well how important his press and influence were to them; and I am told they pay him off in a snug little job, styled, the printing of blanks for the Post-Offices west of the Alleghany mountains, or some such contrivance, by which he is rewarded with an annuity of about two thousand dollars. What chance has truth and patriotism to make an honest appeal to the people, or to disabuse the public ear, when the administration is thus buying up and corrupting the presses? There are others of this tribe of libellers, rewarded by the hero, too degraded to be enumerated. I will not, therefore, pursue this loathsome subject farther.

But may I not appeal to all honest Jackson men, who have no interest in these plans of corruption, to pause before they commit themselves farther, and before their country is plunged too deep in corruption to be redeemed by their patriotism; to join with the honest men of all parties, and save their country from impending ruin? Yes, Mr. Speaker, I say to all Jackson men who do not love this hero of two wars, better than their wives and children; and who do not seek office more than their country's good—pause: while to save your country from blood and tears, is within your power—while to save yourselves, your wives and children from want, is in your power. That this nation can get on with such an administration, is impossible. An administration, the whole energies of which, are directed to the devouring instead of sustaining the country. Most of you are farmers, some mechanics and some merchants. I beseech you to view the prospects of the classes of labour to which you belong. Ask yourselves why is it, that year after year rolls around, and leaves no spare capital to the people of Kentucky; and that the early settlers are selling their farms continually, where they have spent a life of labour and toil to pay their debts, and migrate to the wilds beyond the Mississippi, in quest of cheap lands; and you will find that the answer is, the secret but blighting influence of the policy proclaimed in this speech—that is, to spend no money in the interior of the States by way of national improvements, and to leave the mechanic, merchant, farmer and manufacturer, to compete in their own markets with European labour and capital. I have been both amused and astonished at the remarks of some gentlemen, who seem to suppose that we pay no taxes to the national treasury. Jackson has expended this year twenty-six millions one hundred and sixty-four thousand five hundred and ninety-five dollars and ten cents. Now, Sir, what is the twenty-fourth part of that,

Nearly twelve hundred thousand dollars. Yes, Sir, while you pay a little upwards of one hundred thousand dollars to your State, you pay at least twelve times that sum to the national treasury—supposing the wealth, numbers, and capital, and consumptions of the State to be just one twenty-fourth part of that of the whole Union; but your consumptions will exceed that average, and of course your proportion of taxes exceed that average. And Sir, how do you pay this enormous sum? Why, Sir, by a tax upon your backs, a tax on your coats, or as I told the gentleman from Barren, by a tax on your *shirt collars*. But this is not all Sir—this tax is only the fifth part of what you pay; the other four-fifths are paid to the British weaver and grower of this tea plant which your President wishes to make a necessary of life. Can you sir, stand much longer this drain of at least six millions annually; is there a man in his senses, that believes the country can stand it? No, Sir, rely on it, you will find their secret pressure drawing from you your very substance and means of vitality, like an air pump to the unconscious rabbit, until to breathe in this land of ours, will become impossible. The British weavers, Sir, like the Scots and Picts drove the ancient Britons, are driving you to the western ocean, and they will press you thence, until the sea rolls you back upon your destroyers. Year after year you see your strength passing off, like your old mother Virginia, leaving untenanted farms; or see the grazier or land Baron, welding twenty tenements into one; your labour unrewarded and discouraged, and like your blind mother, will you still hug your own ruin? Look to that great State, with all the varieties of soil and most of climate; with her seaboard, her rivers and her mountains; with her fertile plains and navigable streams; with more water power and seats for manufacturing, than are to be found in the whole Island of Great Britain together—dependant, on foreign manufacture and foreign luxuries for food and raiment, until the wilderness reclaimed by the ancient Virginians, is re-asserting its dominion over large portions of its once most thickly populated districts. When all America that pursues the same downward course, must meet the same fate—can you escape? Is it not visibly progressing before your eyes? Yes, Mr. Speaker, it is, and you cant escape it. It was to redeem the State of Kentucky and Virginia, and all the South from the fatal spell that binds them in chains to the British nation, that Clay and Adams have, from time to time, urged upon Congress the exertions of the beneficent power of protecting our manufacturers, and opening the communications between the States—to make your own victuals and clothes, sir, is the way to your wealth and independence.

Had Mr. Adams been the choice of the people, this great truth would have been pressed upon us, with all the ardour of patriotism. Instead of the forty-three ships passing the sound for Riga and St. Petersburg, from Boston alone, for foreign hemp and flax, the administration would have driven this capital into the hemp and flax lands.

of the States. New modes of culture and manufacture would have been taught, until America, instead of buying hemp and flax, would be able to supply Europe with those articles. Instead of an army of office seekers and office hunters, devouring your treasury and inundating the land with their libels; instead of the hundreds of thousands squandered to send your Tom P. Moore's on foreign missions, you would have had an army of engineers and labourers, cutting down your mountains, opening your rivers. Yes, Sir, this one million six hundred thousand dollars, that Jackson has spent beyond your revenue this year, would have half made you a national road from Zanesville to New Orleans. In Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, Tennessee and Kentucky, every where on this continent, would manufactories spring into existence, until your hills and their hills, now destined to remain waste or the habitations of wild beasts, would have been covered with your flocks and herds, to give you independence in reality, as well as name. But, Mr. Speaker, your manufacturers, merchants and mechanics, may now pour out their complaints to this administration in vain. Jackson is entirely too military to attend to them. He may say to them as Buonaparte did to the mission from Amsterdam, "my government is formed for the soldier and the gentleman, not for the merchant and manufacturer." His government, sir, is for the army and office hunter—these truths you know, sir. There is not a man that hears me, who does not know, that what I say is truth as to the actual condition of things. And is it not strange sir, that while you are compelled to admit the indispensable necessity of sustaining and upholding the policy pursued by Adams and Clay, when you cannot, appealing to your own consciences, deny that the policy of Jackson's administration, is corrupting the morals of the nation, and must soon pauperize the State? Why, I ask you, do you uphold an administration that threatens destruction to the whole morals and wealth of the country? Why are we now, Mr. Speaker, distracting ourselves and our State, in upholding a policy so fatal to all that is dear and valuable in morals and independence? While the contest lasted for the chair of State, it was not whether the policy of Adams' administration was just and proper for you; but whether Jackson would pursue that policy. We told you that he would not, you disbelieved; you made your choice, he has deceived you; why not acknowledge that he has done so, and let us all meet upon the basis of our own and our country's good? Let us no longer strive for victory for our man, but cast off all personal considerations and recollections of what we have been, pursue principle, and we are one people at once. We have but one interest—but one object. We can have but one, and that is the happiness and prosperity of our common country. Consider that labour is the means to obtain that; and that no administration that fails to protect and encourage labor, can promote the general good. Consider what the President recommends; to either

protect labour or morals, and you will see them totally neglected, while profusion and extravagance marks every sentence of his message and every act of his administration. See his enormous expenditure of more than twenty-six millions of dollars, on a sinking revenue; while he is calling upon Congress to release public defaulters, and to add to the expenses of the government, such stale claims as Mrs. Decatur's, as well as by adding to the Supreme Court, already too numerous, more Judges, thereby to increase his patronage and power of rewarding his friends. Look to the myriads already expended unnecessarily by him in creating useless foreign missions; all in the face of the pledges, of his friends, that reform and retrenchment should be a fundamental law of his cabinet. This is one year—the *beginning*; and what, I ask you, is to be the ending of this policy, eight years hence? Can your country stand this profusion and corrupting for eight years? No, Sir; no. I know, Sir, that many promise the people that this is to last but four years. Jackson and all his friends electioneered on this pledge to the people; but, Sir, don't believe this pledge. It is the last that he or his friends intend redeeming. You might as well expect the miser to grow tired, and voluntarily yield his hoard, as Jackson to voluntarily retire. No, Sir, he will cling to his twenty-five thousand dollars and the distribution of twenty-six millions of patronage, while life lasts, unless driven from it by public sentiment. Amend your constitution, and turn the Indians into President makers, as he recommends; and, Sir, at the end of eight, nay, Sir, at the end of four years, he may feel himself as necessary to these United States, as Bolivar finds himself to be to the Republic of Colombia. You must, Mr. Speaker, make up your mind to bear the present state of things until public sentiment acts and re-acts upon the policy of his administration; for I know nothing of human nature, if he ever voluntarily lay down power, or if the office hunters and holders permit him to do so. No, the General that would draw his pay and rations while living at the Hermitage, until driven from his office by an act of Congress, will not yield pay and power, until expelled from them by public sentiment. I would, therefore, thus early admonish my Jackson friends, who have brought their country into this condition, (and among such, I can reckon, not only many honorable friends, but nearest relations;) not to take to themselves the consolation, that Jackson will voluntarily retire, as he promised to do. They may prepare to sustain the weight, the responsibility of his administration—or to *change it without his consent*.

Mr. Speaker, I have exhausted my own strength as well as the patience of the Senate. In resuming my seat, I can but remark, that it has been my misfortune to spend that portion of my life, which I intended for the people, and in which I intended to be useful to my country, I fear, without effecting much for that country, however endeared to me; or advancing my individual happiness or

that of my family. I entered the Legislature when the policy of the State, was that, which is proclaimed by General Jackson; a policy that ruined her credit and bankrupted her institutions—in struggling against which, I know, I have broken up many private friendships. This, I regret; but I never despaired of the State. We have all, thank God, now to rejoice, that as far as depends upon the administration of the State, we are safe. But when I look to the nation, and see the errors which brought my State to the brink of destruction, located there, and seated in power, I confess, sir, I feel overwhelmed with the possible consequences that may flow therefrom, upon this once happy and still powerful nation. But whatever shall be my destiny, or that of my family, I shall, I trust, in soul and heart, always be for my country.

Since the above was delivered, I have obtained from the public records the following extracts, which are to prove beyond the possibility of doubt, the profligacy of the present administration, to-wit:

In 1825, the first year of Mr. Adams' administration, he expended	
in all	\$23,585,804 72
He paid of the public debt	12,095,344 78

This sum paid all expenses	\$11,499,459 94
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In the 2nd year, 1826, he expended	\$24,103,293 46
Public debt paid	11,041,082 19

\$13,062,314 27

In this year, Adams paid out of this sum about \$491,000 for Revolutionary Pensions, Indian Treaties, Public Buildings, &c.

In 1827, the expenses of the government, were	\$22,656,764 04
Public debt paid	10,003,668 39
Treaty of Ghent	398,696 93

Net expense	\$12,534,878 92
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Expenses in 1828	\$25,485,313 90
Debt paid, Treaty of Ghent, &c.	12,954,107 47

\$12,531,800 43

In 1829, Jackson's administration	\$26,163,591 10
Public debt and under Treaty of Ghent	12,406,002 35

Net expenditure by Jackson	\$13,758,592 72
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Contingent expenses of both Houses of Congress for ten years:

For 1820,	\$45,000	
For 1821,	49,000	
For 1822,	45,000	
For 1823,	40,000	} (Clay Speaker these years.)
For 1824,	60,000	
For 1825,	65,000	
For 1826,	87,000	
For 1827,	87,000	

For 1828,	106,203	} For these three years both Houses
For 1829,	106,000	
For 1830,	135,600	

have had Jackson majorities and
Jackson Speakers.

This specimen will, it is hoped, satisfy the candid of all parties, what faith is due to Jackson's promised retrenchment. For the prospect before us, the attention of the reader, is not only called to the President's demand for more Judges to be added to the Supreme Court, and an addition to the Attorney General's salary, but to the call of his Post-Master General for another Assistant Post-Master General and ten additional Clerks, to his office alone.





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